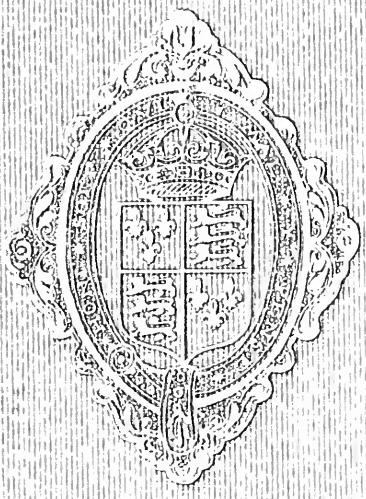
THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN ELIZABETH



THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Princess Elizabeth.
about 1551
From the Picture at Hendon Castle
by Gracious permission of His Majesty the King

THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

A NARRATIVE IN CONTEMPORARY LETTERS

BY

FRANK A. MUMBY

EDITOR OF "LETTERS OF LITERARY MEN"

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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To

MY WIFE

2065468

PREFACE

How many volumes, and collections of letters, published and unpublished, are directly represented in the present work may be seen from the list of sources beginning on p. ix., a list which would be greatly increased if the titles were given of all the books consulted while the work was in preparation. By modernising the orthography the editor has probably invited a good deal of criticism from the antiquarians' standpoint, but, both in this volume and the series to which it belongs, his aim has been to make a wider appeal in the hope of attracting the general reader, as well as the student. At the same time he has endeavoured to preserve as much as possible of the archaic character of the original letters now published, and to catch the sixteenth century atmosphere which still clings to many of them. With regard to the present volume it is important to remember that the course of English history during the youth of Elizabeth is only traced in so far as it affects Elizabeth herself. Letters covering the larger background will be found in the volumes—now in preparation—relating to the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary I. The portraits in the present work have been selected from various public and private collections in England and on the Continent. That of the Princess Elizabeth is from a painting at Windsor Castle, and is reproduced by the gracious permission of His Majesty. That of Mary I. is included through the courtesy of the Society of

Antiquaries, to whom belongs the original painting by Lucas de Heere; and for the portrait of Sir Henry Bedingfeld—the Princess Elizabeth's governor during the last days of her captivity in the Tower, and throughout her long imprisonment at Woodstock—the editor is indebted to the kindness of that worthy knight's lineal descendant, the present Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Bart., of Oxburgh, Norfolk. It only remains for the editor to express his deep sense of gratitude to the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office for permission to republish the letters selected from the Calendars of State Papers and the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

FRANK A. MUMBY.

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INTRODUCTION

THE value and importance of private correspondence as a source of historical knowledge have long been recognised, although a biography of a Sovereign of England on the familiar model of the "Life and Letters" of less distinguished people has never been attempted. For the lives of the earlier Sovereigns, such materials are inadequate or non-existent; for those of the later, they are too numerous; in all cases, the interest of the topic is too varied and tends too much to controversy to render such a method useful, even if it were feasible. It is in the 16th century that royal letters begin to be numerous, and the correspondence of this period is remarkably illuminative. The purpose of the present series is to accomplish for Queen Elizabeth, and, it is hoped, for some of her predecessors and of her successors, what Labanoff did for Mary Stuart. The books will not attempt to be biographies, nor will they offer any detailed treatment of controverted topics. They will contain, as far as possible, all personal letters written by the Sovereigns, together with a selection from the correspondence of the period, chosen with the purpose of illustrating their personal characteristics, the part taken by them in deciding the national policy, and the impression made upon contemporaries by their personalities, and by their conduct of affairs.

It is scarcely necessary to insist upon the usefulness, for historical inquiry, of the fierce light shed by private letters upon human character and motives, or to enlarge upon the value of the glimpses they afford of social life and custom, and the insight they give us into the habit of mind of bygone generations. Even a cursory

glance through the pages of this volume will furnish numerous illustrations, and to reproduce them here would serve no good purpose. It will probably be more useful to suggest that, even in reading the most private of letters, some caution is necessary. Formal phrases may mislead those who are not familiar with the correspondence of the time. Such sentences as "I pray God to have you in His holy keeping, and to grant you good health and a long and very happy life" mean no more than is intended by our own briefer conclusion of a letter, and moral or religious reflections mean even less than they would to-day, when they are not the conventional epistolary style. Beyond these formal phrases, there remains, of course, the more serious question of the motive of the letter-writer. The letter may have been written to deceive the correspondent to whom it was addressed, to lull suspicion, or to obtain a favour by creating a false impression. No general rule can be laid down for the determination of such questions; each letter must be considered on its merits and in relation to our general knowledge and to our personal view of what was probable. Where historical critics are more or less agreed, the editor can offer his reader some guidance, and where statements are known to be wrong, he can call attention to them; but, in most cases, editor and reader alike will be influenced by their general attitude to the problems of the period. It is necessary, further, to consider more than the honesty or dishonesty of the letter-writer; we must bear in mind the difficulty of appreciating the precise value of a statement, even if it be made in good faith. The value of a letter as historical evidence depends, in part, upon the prejudices of the writer and upon his or her sources of information. Caution is especially needful in reading the letters of diplomatic agents. The business of these men was not solely to "lie abroad for the good of their country"; they were also expected to contribute to its amusement. Alike when they write of high policy and when they reproduce the gossip of the Court to which they were accredited,

we must be prepared to exercise some vigilance in estimating the value of their statements. The ambassador might be content with assuring his masters of the general success of their policy; or, more probably, he might wish to guide that policy along what he considered to be the best lines. In either case he was liable to the temptation of directing their attention to one side of the case, or of ignoring elements in the situation which would have impressed an impartial onlooker. It is, therefore, important to bear in mind the policy favoured by the writer of a diplomatic letter, his opportunities of knowledge, and his desire to amuse his correspondents. It is scarcely necessary, for example, to urge that the Spanish agents in England were anxious to obtain scandal about Anne Boleyn in 1533 or about Queen Elizabeth after her succession to the Throne.

Yet, after all deductions have been made and all warnings duly given, it remains true that in such letters as are contained in this book we have the very marrow of history. The volume now issued attempts to give a series of illustrations of the environment of the Princess Elizabeth up to her accession to the Crown. The letters seem to me to have been well chosen for the purpose, and their editor has been fortunate in finding so large and so interesting a mass of materials. The relations between Henry VIII. and his daughters, between Edward VI. and his sisters, between Elizabeth and Mary, are revealed in these pages by Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, and Mary themselves, and by others who were nearest to them and saw most of them. The conditions of Mary's miserable girlhood, of Elizabeth's unloved childhood, are set forth as they really were; the influences which surrounded the future Queen as she grew up are portrayed in no false colours. We can judge of the moral dangers which Elizabeth faced, with more or less courage and success, at an age when the girls of to-day scarcely know that evil exists, and we can estimate the effect of the physical suffering and the mental torture which

hardened the heart of Mary's prisoner in the Tower or at Woodstock. The editor has made no effort to apportion blame or praise; that task is reserved for the reader. In notes and in connecting paragraphs, he has endeavoured to afford such guidance and explanation as are necessary for the intelligent appreciation of the progress of events, and we need add but little to what he has said. The letters here collected illustrate some of the points to which we have already referred, and the reader will be wise to accept with some reserve the gossip reported by the Spanish ambassador, Eustace Chapuys. Sometimes he made errors natural even in a well-informed foreigner, as when he asserts that Henry VIII. created Elizabeth Princess of Wales. Henry had given this dignity to Mary at a time when he had given up hope of a male heir; after Elizabeth's birth, he hoped and believed that Anne Boleyn would give him a son in due course, and what he did was to confer on his new-born daughter the style of a Princess of England. Chapuys was ready to accept any gossip which tended to discredit the King and his new wife, and his statements do not tally with evidence from other sources, e.g., the London chroniclers. A letter from another diplomatist, printed on p. 307, has been the subject of some recent controversy, and it illustrates another difficulty in dealing with diplomatic correspondence — the imperfections which beset the maker of calendars. It is no easy task to write a *précis* of such documents as these 16th century letters, and there are numerous errors in the earlier volumes of Calendars of State Papers, on which the historian, if he cannot go to Venice or to Madrid, must be largely dependent. The seventh volume of the Calendar of Venetian State Papers dealing with English affairs contains a letter from Il Schifanoya, an Italian resident in London, describing the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. It asserts that Mass was said by the Queen's chaplain, "the bishops not having chosen to say Mass without elevating the Host or consecrating it, as that worthy individual did," and it goes

on to say that the Epistle and Gospel were recited in English. An account of what happened on this occasion is obviously of great importance in any discussion of the history of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, and certain inferences, with which we are not here concerned, have been made from the words we have quoted. In the "English Historical Review" for July, 1908 (p. 533), the original Italian is printed along with the abstract given by Mr. Rawdon Brown in the Calendar, and it becomes clear that what Il Schifanoya really said was that the bishops objected to the consecration of the Host "con le parole Englesi" and that the Epistle and Gospel were read in Latin as well as in English. The moral, for our purpose, is that where a letter quoted from a Calendar of State Papers gives what is obviously an abstract or *précis*, it is less reliable than when it professes to be an exact translation; sometimes, unfortunately, the abstract masquerades as a translation.

There is one interesting question raised in the present volume on which the reader must be prepared to exercise his personal judgement. An Italian, Gregorio Leti, who visited England in the reign of Charles II., wrote a life of Queen Elizabeth, which was suppressed by royal authority. A French translation was, however, published in 1694 at Amsterdam, where Leti had gone to reside, and it is still extant. The value to be attached to this work is one of the problems of the subject. It has been generally agreed that Leti's book is not a mere piece of fiction and he may have had access to some MSS. unknown to us. The letters quoted from Leti in this volume are sufficiently representative, and the consideration of their value is one of the most interesting points in the book. It seems clear to us that they cannot be accepted without reserve. Leti knew that Elizabeth wrote letters on certain occasions: some of the letters he prints may have been copies of originals which she wrote. But it is impossible to believe that she did write everything which he attributes to her. Sometimes he makes a

statement which we know to be wrong, e.g., when he makes Elizabeth say (p. 172) that she had not heard of Mary's marriage four months after its occurrence. Sometimes the style of the epistle creates suspicion, e.g., the letter to Philip on p. 254. Leti knew that she had written to Philip and he either invented the text of her letter or he embellished an existing copy with the rhetorical appeals which he considered suitable to the occasion, and which we deem absurd and impossible. In reading any letter quoted from Leti's book, it will be necessary to consider whether the whole, or any part, is unlikely to be the writing of Elizabeth, and such consideration will prove to be a valuable exercise of the historical judgement. There are other such problems in the book, and we commend them to the reader's discretion.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

New College, Oxford,
December, 1908.

THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD (1533—1546)

Birth of Elizabeth—Bitter disappointment of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn—Ill-treatment of Princess Mary—Anne Boleyn's spite—Elizabeth proclaimed Heiress-presumptive to the Throne—Execution of Anne Boleyn—Elizabeth's changed position—Her Letters to Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves—Brought to Court by Catherine Parr—Falls again out of Henry VIII.'s favour—Henry sends his blessing from Boulogne—Elizabeth's early studies.

CHANCE turned the scales in Elizabeth's favour in more than one grave crisis in her life; but her sex was her supreme good fortune. It is arguable that it would have been better for England had the eagerly awaited child of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn proved a boy instead of a girl. England might have escaped the disasters which followed the downfall of the Protector Somerset, Northumberland's shameful rule, and the unhappy reign of Mary; Mary herself might have been spared the miseries and humiliations which resulted from her Spanish marriage, and with them the sanguinary epithet which still clings to her name; and Elizabeth, instead of signing the death warrant of Mary Stuart, might have joined the two divided kingdoms by the golden bond of matrimony. On the whole, however, it was probably a blessing for England that Elizabeth was not a boy. In her sex lay the whole secret of her subsequent success in what Major Martin Hume has described as "the greatest diplomatic game ever played on the world's chessboard"—the diplomatic game in which she kept her

favourites in order, and played off one great foreign power against another until England was strong enough to stand alone. But Elizabeth's arrival proved a sad disillusionment to her parents. Henry VIII.'s disappointment was the more intense because his physicians and the soothsayers had so confidently promised him a son that in the announcement of the birth, sent to the nobility in Queen Anne's name and prepared beforehand, the word "Prince" had been written as final. One of these letters may be seen to-day among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum; and its faded ink, its blurred and hurried "s" at the end of the word Prince—there is barely room for the one letter between that and the following word, though ample space had been left at the end to fill in the date—and the fragments of its broken seal outside, take us back across the centuries to the very room in Greenwich Palace in which the hasty alteration was made. It was addressed to Lord Cobham, who had supported Henry in his divorce from Catherine Parr:

QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN TO LORD COBHAM.

[*Harleian MSS.* 283, *f.* 75.]

September 7, 1533.

Right-trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it hath pleased the goodness of Almighty God of His infinite mercy and grace to send unto us at this time good speed in the deliverance and bringing forth of a Princesto[1] the great joy and inward comfort of my Lord, us, and of all his good and loving subjects of this his realm, for which inestimable benevolence so shown unto us we have no little cause to give high thanks, laud, and praise unto our said Maker, like as we do most lowly, humbly, and with all the inward desire of our heart. And inasmuch as we undoubtedly trust that this our good speed is to your great pleasure, comfort and consolation, we therefore by these our letters advertise you

[1] As already explained, the word "Prince," both here and later in the letter, had to be carried on to the next word.

thereof, desiring and heartily praying you to give with us unto Almighty God high thanks, glory, laud and praise, and to pray for the good health, prosperity, and continual preservation of the said Princesaccordingly. Given under our signet at my Lord's Manor of Greenwich, the 7th day of September, in the 25th year of my Lord's reign.

There was not the same element of tragedy in Henry's disillusionment as in that of his daughter Mary, when she tempted Fate with a similar letter rather more than twenty years later, convinced that she was about to give birth to the son in whom all her hopes and ambitions were centred. Henry had at least the satisfaction of knowing that he now had what he for the time being at least regarded as a legitimate heir to the throne. Froude tells us that Elizabeth was "received with all the outward signs of exultant welcome"; but the celebrations appear to have been half-hearted and insincere. How insignificant a matter the birth of Henry's new daughter seemed to Eustace Chapuys, the Ambassador of Charles V., is shown in the following letter which he wrote three days after the event:

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

[*Calendar of Spanish State Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

LONDON, *September* 10, 1533.

Having received no notice of the departure of this courier till just as he was about to start on his journey, and moreover, having no important news to communicate just now, I will be brief. On Sunday last, on the eve of Lady Day, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the King's mistress was delivered of a girl, to the great disappointment and sorrow of the King, of the Lady herself, and of others of her party, and to the great shame and confusion of physicians, astrologers, wizards, and witches, all of whom affirmed that it would be a boy. The people in general have rejoiced at the discomfiture of those who attach faith

to such divinations, and who, whatever face they may put on the present occasion, are nevertheless exceedingly affected and ashamed.

The Lord Mayor and aldermen of this city, the heads of guilds, and other citizens of note have been invited to the christening, as well as the two French ambassadors. The new born is to be christened at Greenwich. The godmothers will be the mother-in-law to the Duke of Norfolk and the Marchioness of Exeter; the Archbishop of Canterbury to hold the child at the font, and the Bishop of London to christen her. She is to be called Mary as the Princess: which title, as I have been informed from various quarters, will be taken away from its true and legitimate owner, and given to this spurious daughter of the King. If so we shall soon hear.

It must, therefore, be concluded that God has entirely abandoned this King, and left him a prey to his own misfortune, and to his obstinate blindness that he may be punished and completely ruined. Indeed there is already every appearance of this, for if we consider the almost general indignation which this, the King's second marriage, and consequent acts have produced among the people, both high and low, which is likely to be increased should he, as I am assured he will, defraud the Princess of her title, for the Princess is adored, as she well deserves it, by the whole nation. I am aware that this indignation against the King and his mistress, like all other sentiments and affections of the popular masses, will subside and cool down unless taken up in time and fostered at the proper moment; but so deeply rooted is it in people's minds, and so just the cause of it, that it will take a long time before the nation, or at least the great majority, forgets it.

As the Ambassador of Charles V., who was the divorced Catherine's nephew, and at one time her prospective son-in-law, Chapuys—the Capucius of Shakespeare's "Henry VIII."—was a prejudiced witness, but he was not wide of

the mark in saying that the bulk of the people rejoiced in the King's discomfiture. Popular sympathy was undoubtedly with the "Princess Dowager," as Catherine of Arragon was ordered to be called. The English Catholics still regarded her as the legitimate Queen, for it was only two months previously that Henry had been excommunicated, and his remarriage with Anne Boleyn pronounced invalid by the Pope. Among the followers of Catherine, therefore, the infant Elizabeth was spoken of as "the bastard," and Princess Mary—now in her eighteenth year—as the rightful heir to the throne. Chapuys was a prominent figure on the stage of English affairs at this time, and, as his letter shows, he protested vigorously against the treatment both of the divorced Queen and her daughter; not, however, to much purpose, for Charles did not deem it prudent to support his representative with "something more than words." In all that Chapuys says, we must remember his prejudice, and it is, of course, impossible to be always certain of his authority for his statements. The Court gossips were very active, and it was part of his business to report the scandal they talked. We cannot accept without hesitation all the detail he gives, and even the general impression left by his references to Anne Boleyn must be regarded with grave suspicion:

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

[*Calendar of Foreign and Domestic Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

London, *September* 15, 1533.

The daughter of the lady has been named Elizabeth, and not Mary. The christening has been, like her mother's coronation, very cold and disagreeable both to the Court and to the city, and there has been no thought of having the bonfires and rejoicings usual in such cases. After the child was baptised, a herald in front of the church door proclaimed her princess of England. Previously, *i.e.*, from her birth, it was ordered that the true princess should not be so called, and her lackeys were deprived of their gold-embroidered coats, which they wore with her device, in place of which the arms of the King alone have been

put on them. There is a report that they will diminish her establishment. God grant that they may do no worse to her. Like a wise and virtuous princess as she is, she takes matters patiently, trusting in the mercy of God, and has written a comforting letter to the Queen her mother, which is wonderfully good. I shall not fail, after ascertaining the Queen's[1] will, to remonstrate against this monstrous injury and injustice, although I am sure it will be all in vain ; for sin, misfortune, and obstinacy have closed the King's ears, and something more than words will be necessary to move him.

Having spent the first two or three months of her life with her mother in the Palace of Greenwich, Elizabeth was removed to Hatfield, "there to remain" (to quote the Order in Council) "with such household as the King's highness has established for the same." Meantime came confirmation of the report that Mary would be compelled to diminish her own household. After the baby's birth Mary had stayed at Beaulieu (afterwards New Hall) in Essex, in the care of the Countess of Salisbury and Lord Hussey, through whom the instructions were sent that she must not only reduce her estate but abandon the name of princess. This Mary declined to do, even when letters to the same effect were written in the King's name by Sir William Paulet, comptroller of Henry's household, in one of which she was ordered to break up her establishment and remove instantly to Hertford Castle. Here is her spirited reply :

PRINCESS MARY TO HENRY VIII.

[Strickland's "*Mary*" *in* "*Queens of England.*"]

BEAULIEU, *October* 2, 1533.

In most humble wise I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth the same to be advertised,

[1] Catherine's.

that this morning my chamberlain came and showed me that he had received a letter from Sir William Paulet, comptroller of your household; the effect whereof was that I should, with all diligence, remove to the Castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see that letter, which he showed me, wherein was written that "the lady Mary, the king's daughter, should remove to the place aforesaid"—leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which, when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your Grace was not privy to the same letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess, forasmuch as I doubt not that your Grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I were to say to the contrary, I should in my conscience run into the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly that your Grace would not that I should do.

And in all other things your Grace shall have me, always, as humble and obedient daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour and long life to his pleasure. By your most humble daughter, Mary, *Princess*.

Henry was not a man meekly to receive a rebuff of this description from his daughter. The vindictive Anne urged him to take every opportunity of humiliating her and boasted that she would compel Mary to serve her daughter as a lady's maid. So Mary, instead of going to Hertford Castle, was deprived of all her servants and sent to attend on Elizabeth in the household which had been established for the Royal infant at Hatfield. The story of this degradation is vividly given in the next letter. It will also be seen that Chapuys had sent Mary a form of protest which she could sign when further resistance seemed useless, in order that her submission might not be turned to her disadvantage in regard to her rights and title:

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

[*Spanish State Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

LONDON, *December* 16, 1533.

In consequence of the King's resolution and order as to the respective treatment of the Princess and of his bastard daughter, about which I wrote last to Your Majesty, the latter was three days since taken to a house distant 17 miles from this city; and although there was a better and a shorter route thither, yet, for the sake of pompous solemnity, and the better to impress upon the people the idea of her being the true Princess of Wales,[1] the King's bastard daughter, and her suite, composed of the noblemen specified in my last, were made to traverse this city. On the ensuing morning the Duke of Norfolk went himself to the Princess, and signified her father's pleasure that she should attend Court, and enter the service of his other bastard daughter, whom the Duke deliberately, and in her presence, called Princess of Wales. Upon which Princess Mary replied: "That is a title which belongs to me by right, and to no one else;" after which she addressed to him many gracious, honest, and very wise remonstrances, all tending to show that the proposals the Duke had brought from the King were both strange and unfitting. Which argument on the part of the Princess the Duke was unable to combat, so much so that he said to her that he had not gone thither to dispute, but to see the King's wishes accomplished, and his commands executed, namely, that she should be removed to the house taken for the bastard. Upon which the Princess, seeing that all her arguments and excuses would be of no avail, asked for half an hour's time to retire to her private chamber; where she remained, as I am given to

[1] This is an exaggeration. Henry wished Elizabeth to be regarded as the Princess, but not as Princess of Wales. He had conferred that title on Mary when he despaired of a son by Catherine; now he hoped for a son by Anne.

understand, all the while, or nearly so, occupied in drawing out the protest whereof I once gave her the words. Thus, should she in any way be compelled by force or persuaded by deceit to renounce her rights, marry against her will, or enter a cloister, no prejudice should result to her hereafter.

When she came out of her room the Princess said to the Duke: "Since such is my father's wish, it is not for me to disobey his injunctions; but I beg you to intercede with him that the services of many well deserving and trusty officers of my household may be rewarded, and one year's wages at least given to them." After this she asked the Duke how many of her own servants she would be allowed to retain and take with her. The answer was that as she would find plenty of servants to attend on her where she was going, no great train of followers was needed. Accordingly the Princess set out on her journey, accompanied only by very few of her household. Her governess,[1] daughter of the late Duke of Clarence, and the King's near relative—a very honourable and virtuous lady, if there be one in England—offered, I hear, to serve the Princess at her own cost, with a good and honourable train of servants, but her offers were not accepted; nor will they ever be, for were the said lady to remain by the Princess they would no longer be able to execute their bad designs, which are evidently either to cause her to die of grief or in some other way, or else to compel her to renounce her rights, marry some low fellow, or let her fall a prey to lust, so that they may have a pretext and excuse for disinheriting her, and submitting her to all manner of bad treatment.

Chapuys continues the narrative in a letter which has found its way to the Vienna Archives, and is reprinted, with others from the same source, in the "Calendars of State Papers":

[1] The Countess of Salisbury.

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

[*Calendar of Foreign and Domestic Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

LONDON, *December* 23, 1533.

When the Princess, who was taken off with only two attendants, had arrived where the bastard was, the Duke asked her whether she would not go and pay her respects to the Princess. She replied that she knew no other Princess in England except herself, and that the daughter of Madame de Penebrok [*sic*] had no such title; and that it was true that since the King her father acknowledged her to be his, she might call her "sister," as she called the Duke of Richmond[1] "brother." On her removing, the Duke asked her what word he should carry to the King; to which she replied, "Nothing else, except that his daughter, the Princess, begged his blessing;" and when he said that he would not carry such a message, she told him curtly he might leave it; and after protesting several times that what she did at the King's command should not be to her prejudice, she retired to weep in her chamber, as she does constantly. Though the said Duke treated her roughly, the King reproached him for not having accomplished his charge; that he went about it too softly; and he was resolved to take steps to abate the stubbornness and pride of the Princess.

Yet Henry was fond of his elder daughter, and his pride in her accomplishments and physical charms—for at seventeen Mary appears to have been an attractive girl—was a source of increasing uneasiness to the new Queen. When the King went to Hatfield in the following January, Anne Boleyn, as our next letter shows, used her influence to prevent Mary from seeing her father, and later in the same year sent word to her kinswoman Alice, widow of Sir Thomas Clere, who then had charge of the two princesses, that, if Mary still

[1] Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, Henry VIII.'s illegitimate son by Elizabeth Blount (afterwards Talboys). He was born in 1519 and died in 1536.

declined to drop her title, "she must box her ears as a cursed bastard." Perhaps this last message was due to the annoyance which she felt when she heard of the pretty little scene with which the King's visit to Hatfield came to a close:

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

[*Calendar of Foreign and Domestic Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

LONDON, *January* 17, 1534.

The King lately went to see his bastard daughter, who is twenty miles away, and the Princess with her. Though one of the principal causes of his going was to persuade or force the Princess to renounce her title, when the Lady considered the King's easiness or lightness (if any one dared to call it so), and that the beauty, virtue and prudence of the Princess might assuage his wrath and cause him to treat her better and leave her title, she sent Cromwell, and then other messengers, after the King, to prevent him from seeing or speaking with her. Accordingly, before arriving at the house, he sent orders that she should not come to him. While in the house, and in the bastard's room, he sent Cromwell, the treasurer and the captain of the guard, to urge the Princess to renounce her title. She replied that she had already given a decided answer; it was labour wasted to press her, and they were deceived if they thought that bad treatment or rudeness, or even the chance of death, would make her change her determination.

While the King was with his new daughter the Princess sent to ask leave to come and kiss his hand, but her request was not granted. When the King was going to mount his horse she went on to a terrace at the top of the house to see him. The King, either being told of it, or by chance, turned round, and seeing her on her knees with her hands joined, bowed to her, and put his hand to his hat. Then all those present, who had not dared to raise their heads to look at her, rejoiced at what the King had done, and

saluted her reverently with signs of good will and compassion.

In March Anne Boleyn paid a visit to her offspring and made some attempt to conciliate Mary, but Mary, strong in her Spanish and Tudor pride, and steadfast in her loyalty to her mother, clung firmer than ever to her rights. Chapuys describes the incident to his master in the following terms:

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

[*Calendar of Foreign and Domestic Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

LONDON, *March* 7, 1534.

When the King's "amye" went lately to visit her daughter, she urgently solicited the Princess to visit her and honour her as queen, saying that it would be a means of reconciliation with the King, and she herself (*ladite amitie*) would intercede with him for her, and she would be as well or better treated than ever. The Princess replied that she knew no queen in England except her mother, and if the said "amye" (whom she called Madame Anne de Bolans) would do her that favour with her father she would be obliged. The Lady repeated her remonstrances and offers, and in the end threatened her, but could not move the Princess. The other was very indignant, and intended to bring down the pride of the unbridled Spanish blood, as she said. She will do the worst she can.

Mary's pertinacity was galling to Anne Boleyn, as well as to the King, for the abandonment of Mary's claim to her title was important because it would help to create a popular belief in the validity of Henry's second marriage and in Elizabeth's legitimacy. The title of Princess being given only to the lawful daughter of a King, Mary's relinquishment of it would naturally have reflected on her own birth and the honour of her mother. So the King and his consort tried to force her into submission. In a letter of Chapuys to the Emperor dated March 25 he states that the Duke of Norfolk

"took away not only her principal ornaments but all the others as well, in consequence of her refusal to pay her respects to the lady of the King, and to accompany the Bastard, who is about to remove. Although she has no objection to going to the same place either before or after her, she will not pay court to her on the road, unless she is led by force." The next letter describes how Mary was compelled to submit, and how she made a public protest in order that her act should not prejudice her rights:

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

[*Calendar of Foreign and Domestic Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

LONDON, *March* 30, 1534.

Last Thursday the Princess, who refused to accompany the Bastard on her removal to another house, was put by force by certain gentlemen into a litter with the aunt of the King's mistress, and thus compelled to make court to the said Bastard. She made a public protest of the compulsion used, and that her act should not prejudice her rights and title.

I should not have advised the Princess to have gone to this extreme, for fear of irritating her father, and consequently suffering worse treatment and some bad turn at the desire of his mistress, who is continually plotting the worst she can against the Princess. Filial obedience and the threats used were sufficient to make her conduct no prejudice to her, but the Queen and some others have lately thought it better to show the King their teeth a little. I am afraid this will do harm. I have lately written to the Queen that if she thinks good I will soften the past rigour for the honour and profit of the Princess.

Meantime Elizabeth, in virtue of the Act of Parliament which settled the succession at the beginning of the year, had been proclaimed heiress-presumptive to the throne in place of Mary. By April she was removed to the Royal Palace at Eltham, and there received a visit from her parents.

"To-day," says Sir William Kyngston to Lord Lisle, in a letter dated from Greenwich Palace, April 18, 1534 (State Papers, Henry VIII.), "the King and Queen were at Eltham, and saw my Lady Princess—as goodly a child as hath been seen. Her Grace is much in the King's favour, as goodly child should be, God save her!" Later in the same year the Royal nursery was moved again, as mentioned in the next letter, which also shows to what extent the Princess Mary relied on the advice of the Emperor's ambassador:

EUSTACE CHAPUYS TO CHARLES V.

[*Calendar of Foreign and Domestic Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

LONDON, *August* 29, 1534.

The Princess, understanding of late that the King intended she should remove and accompany the Bastard, sent to me three times in less than twenty-four hours to know what to do. I wrote back each time resolving her scruples that even if she did obey the King without opposition or protestation, all that the King desired in this respect could do no prejudice to the protestations already made. Nevertheless, I thought that, to prevent her father and his lady imagining she was worn-out and conquered by ill-treatment, she should speak boldly, and with her accustomed modesty, but not go to the extremity of allowing herself to be taken by force, as on the former occasion. I wrote to her at full length what she ought to say; not that it was necessary, considering her good sense, but because she desired me. She played her part so well, that the Comptroller promised her she should not go after the other. Nevertheless, on her coming to the first door of the lodging, there was the litter of the Bastard, and the Princess was compelled to go out after her, the Comptroller allowing her, as soon as she was mounted, to go before or after, as she pleased; on which account she suddenly pushed forward, and arrived at Greenwich an hour before the Bastard. When she came to enter the barge, she took

care to secure the most honourable place. I had intimated to her that I would go to Greenwich to see her pass; and she sent to beg me to do so as earnestly as she could. I was there accordingly in disguise; and it was a great pleasure to see such excellent beauty accompanied by heroic bearing, which all the more increased the pity to see her so treated.

Elizabeth was still in her infancy when she first entered the matrimonial market which was afterwards to play such a subtle part in her game of diplomacy. Anxious for a closer alliance with France, Henry VIII. endeavoured to negotiate a betrothal between the baby Princess and the infant Duke of Angoulême, the third son of Francis I., but nothing came of it, Henry, as usual, wanting more than his share of the bargain.

Queen Catherine died in January, 1536, and her rival's shortlived triumph was coming rapidly to a close; but we have no concern here with the drama which had its last act upon Tower Green on the 19th of May, 1536. Anne Boleyn's marriage having been declared invalid by Archbishop Cranmer, Elizabeth herself was by Act of Parliament pronounced illegitimate. "It is not recorded," says Professor Beesley, "that in after years she expressed any opinion about her mother, or even mentioned her name. She never took any steps to get the Act of Attainder repealed; but perhaps she indirectly showed her belief in Anne's innocence by raising the son of Norris, her alleged paramour, to the peerage, and by the great favour she always showed to his family." The following letter from Elizabeth's first governess, Lady Bryan, to Lord Cromwell—it has been many times printed, but is worth repeating—was written not long after the Queen's execution. It shows that Elizabeth was already beginning to feel the change in her position, but suggests that, for the time at least, the loss of dignities and lack of raiment were the least of the little Princess's troubles. The letter also throws an amusing sidelight on the domestic arrangement of the household and on the strange duties which fell upon Ministers of State in those days:

LADY BRYAN TO LORD CROMWELL.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*" *and Foreign and Domestic Papers* (Henry VIII.).]

HUNSDON, 1536.

My lord, when your lordship was last here, it pleased you to say that I should not mistrust the king's grace nor your lordship, which word was more comfort to me than I can write, as God knoweth. And now it emboldens me to show you my poor mind. My lord, when my Lady Mary's grace was born, it pleased the king's grace to appoint me lady-mistress and made me a baroness. And so I have been governess to the children his Grace have had since.

Now it is so, my Lady Elizabeth is put from that degree she was afore, and what degree she is of now, I know not but by hearsay. Therefore I know not how to order her, nor myself, nor none of hers that I have the rule of—that is her women and grooms, beseeching you to be good lord to my lady, and to all hers: And that she may have some raiment; for she hath neither gown, nor kirtle (slip), nor petticoat, nor no manner of linen nor smocks, nor kerchiefs, nor rails (night dresses), nor body stitchets (corsets), nor handkerchiefs, nor sleeves, nor mufflers (mob-caps), nor biggens (night-caps). All these her Grace must take I have driven off as long as I can, that by my troth I can drive it off no longer: beseeching you, my lord, that ye will see that her Grace may have that which is needful for her, as my trust is that ye will do. Beseeching ye, mine own good lord, that I may know from you, by writing, how I shall order myself; and what is the King's grace's pleasure and yours; that I shall do in everything? And whatsomever it shall please the King's grace or your lordship to command me at all times, I shall fulfil it to the best of my power.

My lord, Mr. Shelton[1] saith he is master of this house. What fashion that may be I cannot tell,

[1] A kinsman of Anne Boleyn, and anxious, probably, to keep regal state as long as possible round the late Queen's daughter.

for I have not seen it afore. My lord, ye be so honourable yourself, and every man reporteth that your lordship loveth honour, that I trust you will see the house honourably ordered, as it ever hath been aforetime. And if it please you that I may know what your order is, and if it be not performed I shall certify your lordship of it. For I fear me it will be hardly enough performed. But if the head [evidently Shelton] knew what honour meaneth, it will be the better ordered—if not, it will be hard to bring to pass.

My lord, Mr. Shelton would have my Lady Elizabeth to dine and sup every day at the board of estate. Alas! my lord, it is not meet for a child of her age to keep such rule yet. I promise you, my lord, I dare not take it upon me to keep her Grace in health an' she keep that rule. For there she shall see divers meats, and fruits, and wine, which it would be hard for me to restrain her Grace from. Ye know, my lord, there is no place of correction there; and she is yet too young to correct greatly. I know well an' she be there, I shall neither bring her up to the King's grace's honour, nor hers, nor to her health, nor to my poor honesty. Wherefore, I show your lordship this my desire, beseeching you, my lord, that my lady may have a mess of meat at her own lodging, with a good dish or two that is meet for her Grace to eat of; and the reversion of the mess shall satisfy all her women, a gentleman usher, and a groom; which be eleven persons on her side. Sure I am it will be as great profit to the King's grace this way as the other way. For if all this should be set abroad, they must have three or four messes of meat,—whereas this one mess shall suffice them all with bread and drink, according as my Lady Mary's grace had afore, and to be ordered in all things as her Grace was afore.

God knoweth my lady (Elizabeth) hath great pain with her great teeth, and they come very slowly forth, which causeth me to suffer her Grace to have her

will more than I would. I trust to God an' her teeth were well graft, to have her Grace after another fashion than she is yet: so as I trust the King's grace shall have great comfort in her Grace. For she is as toward a child and as gentle of conditions, as ever I knew any in my life. Jesu preserve her Grace!

As for a day or two, at a high time,[1] or whensoever it shall please the King's grace to have her set abroad,[2] I trust so to endeavour me, that she shall so do as shall be to the King's honour and hers; and then after to take her ease again. . . . From Hunsdon, with the evil hand [bad writing] of her who is your daily bead-woman, MARGT. BRYAN.

Miss Strickland, in translating her earliest letter from Leti's Life of Elizabeth (to Anne of Cleves, in 1540), says that it was probably the first ever written by the Princess, though Leti himself prints a longer one which he declares was written in July, 1537, to Henry VIII.'s third wife, Jane Seymour, afterwards the mother of Edward VI. Seeing that Elizabeth was not then four years old, the letter cannot be regarded seriously as one of the Princess's own productions, especially when we take into consideration the extraordinary nature of at least a portion of its contents. It is quite possible, however, that it was written, or at least dictated, either by one of the Dennys referred to in the letter, or by the Princess's governess. "Mr. Denny" is probably Anthony Denny, the favoured friend of Henry VIII. who profited greatly by the dissolution of the monasteries, receiving from the King in this very year of 1537 the grant of the Priory of Hertford, together with divers other lands. He was knighted at Boulogne in 1544 and three years later appointed by the King counsellor to his son and successor Edward VI. Elizabeth appears to have spent several of her early years at one of his houses at Cheshunt:

[1] Meaning a high festival.
[2] Shown in public.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO JANE SEYMOUR.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

July 31, 1537.

Madame,—Although the letter which your Majesty has been good enough to write to me has consoled me very much for your absence, yet, knowing how it must trouble you to write in your present state of health, I should have accounted myself happy in learning news of you from the letters of the King, my father. I feel the greatest pleasure in learning that your Majesty is well and that the country pleases you. I also thank your Majesty very humbly for the honour you do me in wishing to have me with you. I should think myself so happy to be there that I should never go far while I had the pleasure of being near your Majesty, and I should certainly overwhelm you with constant importunities, for the honour of your company would make the dullest place the most delightful in the world. I am under a great obligation to the King, my father, for so often giving me news of your health, but if he should forget to inform me I should not take it ill, provided he will let me hear from time to time of the child who is so soon to be born to him. If I should be there when he comes into the world, I do not know how I should keep myself from giving him a good beating in revenge for the pain he has made you suffer. Mr. and Mrs. Denny very humbly thank your Majesty for your kind remembrance of them, and pray to God for your happy delivery. My governess also thanks you and offers the same prayers for your Majesty. Written in haste on the last day of July, 1537. Your very humble servant and daughter, ELIZABETH.

The question as to the origin of this letter is complicated by its striking similarity to one printed on p. 37, dated July 31 [1548], and addressed to Catherine Parr. There

appears to be little room for doubt that both letters had a common origin, but in the absence of the document itself it is impossible to say whether, in the version just printed, Leti added the two important points in which it differs from the other—the reference to "the King my father," and the year "1537." This date makes it only a little more than two months before the birth of Henry's eagerly awaited son, afterwards Edward VI., whose coming was so soon to cause his mother's death. It should be remembered, in reading the various letters which we retranslate from Leti's Life of Elizabeth, that the Italian historian was probably responsible for much of the phraseology of the documents as they appeared in his work. Gregorio Leti was born in Milan in 1630, and, coming to England after travelling through Savoy and France, was well received by Charles II. There seems to have been some talk of his becoming the King's historiographer, but he was disappointed in this, and, going to Amsterdam, became historian for that city. As Mrs. Everett Green says in her "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies," he "evidently had access to many valuable original letters, some of which have now perished; but as those which remain prove, on comparison, to have been faithfully though freely, translated by him, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the remainder, though the originals are not known to be in existence." Leti's work is the earliest Life of Elizabeth that we possess. The original edition was suppressed by authority, but a French translation, entitled "La Vie d'Elizabeth, reine d'Angleterre," was printed in two volumes in Amsterdam in 1694. The letter which follows served as Elizabeth's introduction to her new stepmother, Anne of Cleves, Henry's fourth wife, and was written when the writer was seven. It has been said that her governess's request that she might be allowed to send this introduction led to the only reference to Anne Boleyn which Henry was ever known to make after her execution. "She had a mother so different from the queen," he remarked, "that she ought not to wish to see her, but she has my permission to write to Her Majesty." Elizabeth's letter was the prompt result:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO ANNE OF CLEVES.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*" *from Leti's Life.*]

1540.

Madame,—I am struggling between two contending wishes—one is my impatient desire to see your Majesty, the other that of rendering the obedience I owe to the commands of the King my father, which prevent me from leaving my house till he has given me full permission to do so. But I hope that I shall be able shortly to gratify both these desires. In the meantime, I entreat your Majesty to permit me to show, by this billet, the zeal with which I devote my respect to you as my queen, and my entire obedience to you as to my mother. I am too young and feeble to have power to do more than to felicitate you with all my heart in this commencement of your marriage. I hope that your Majesty will have as much good will for me as I have zeal for your service.

Our next letter from Elizabeth's pen takes us to 1543, when she was ten years old. Henry, having divorced Anne of Cleves and beheaded Queen Catherine Howard, had just married his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, who was already on the best of terms with the neglected Princess. By her wholesome influence over His Majesty Catherine not only procured the restitution to both his daughters of their positions as princesses, but persuaded the King to have Elizabeth brought to Court, where she was given an apartment in the Palace of Whitehall adjoining her own rooms. This is Elizabeth's acknowledgment of her new stepmother's kindness:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO CATHERINE PARR.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*" *from Leti's Life.*]

1543.

Madame,—The affection that you have testified in wishing that I should be suffered to be with you in the Court, and requesting this of the King my father, with so much earnestness, is a proof of your goodness.

So great a mark of your tenderness for me obliges me to examine myself a little, to see if I can find anything in me that can merit it, but I can find nothing but a great zeal and devotion to the service of your Majesty. But as that zeal has not yet been called into action so as to manifest itself, I see well that it is only the greatness of soul in your Majesty which makes you do me this honour, and this redoubles my zeal towards your Majesty. I can assure you also that my conduct will be such that you shall never have cause to complain of having done me the honour of calling me to you; at least, I will make it my constant care that I do nothing but with a design to show always my obedience and respect. I await with much impatience the orders of the King my father for the accomplishment of the happiness for which I sigh, and I remain, with much submission, your Majesty's very dear ELIZABETH.

For some obscure reason Elizabeth seems to have fallen out of her father's favour again very soon after Catherine Parr had obtained his consent to her return to Court. The letter dated July 31, 1544, shows that she had been banished for a whole year, and incidentally pays tribute to the Queen's kindness in seeking afresh to obtain for her the King's uncertain clemency. The letter, which is written in elegant Italian, and preserved in the Bodleian Library, was written while Catherine Parr was acting as Regent during the King's absence in France, where he was superintending the siege of Boulogne. The translation is here reprinted from the "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies," edited by Mary Everett Wood, afterwards Mrs. Everett Green:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO CATHERINE PARR.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Smith MSS., Bodleian Library.]

ST. JAMES'S, *July* 31, 1544.

Inimical fortune, envious of all good and ever revolving human affairs, has deprived me for a whole

year of your most illustrious presence, and, not thus content, has yet again robbed me of the same good; which thing would be intolerable to me, did I not hope to enjoy it very soon. And in this my exile, I well know that the clemency of your highness has had as much care and solicitude for my health as the King's majesty himself. By which thing I am not only bound to serve you, but also to revere you with filial love, since I understand that your most illustrious highness has not forgotten me every time you have written to the King's majesty, which, indeed, it was my duty to have requested from you. For heretofore I have not dared to write to him. Wherefore I now humbly pray your most excellent highness, that, when you write to His Majesty, you will condescend to recommend me to him, praying ever for his sweet benediction, and similarly entreating our Lord God to send him best success, and the obtaining of victory over his enemies, so that your highness and I may, as soon as possible, rejoice together with him on his happy return. No less pray I God, that He would preserve your most illustrious highness; to whose grace, humbly kissing your hands, I offer and recommend myself. Your most obedient daughter, and most faithful servant, ELIZABETH.

Henry was two months outside Boulogne before the garrison surrendered, and the following fragment, which was written during the progress of the siege, suggests that Catherine Parr had been successful in her mediation, for it will be noticed that the King sends his hearty blessing to all his children:

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY VIII. TO CATHERINE PARR.

["*Letters of the Kings of England.*" From the Cottonian MSS.]

September 8, 1544.

At the closing up of these our letters this day, the castle before-named with the dyke [ditch] is at our

commandment, and not like to be recovered by the Frenchmen again, as we trust, not doubting with God's grace but that the castle and town shall shortly follow the same trade, for as this day, which is the 8th day of September, we begin three batteries, and have three mines going, besides one which hath done his execution in shaking and tearing off one of their greatest bulwarks. No more to you at this time, sweetheart, but for lack of time and great occupation of business, saving we pray you to give in our name our hearty blessings to all our children, and recommendations to our cousin Margaret[1] and the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen, and to our council also. Written with the hand of your loving husband, HENRY R.

Elizabeth expressed her gratitude to her stepmother by dedicating to her "The Mirror, or Glass, of the Sinful Soul," a devotional treatise which she had translated from the French. The Princess owed not a little of her learning—of which more will be said later—to the scholarly encouragement of Catherine Parr, who took a keen interest in directing the studies of her royal step-children:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO CATHERINE PARR.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Smith MSS., Bodleian Library.]

ASHBRIDGE, *December* 31, 1544.

To our most noble and virtuous Queen Catherine, Elizabeth, her humble daughter, wisheth perpetual felicity and everlasting joy.

Not only knowing the effectuous will and fervent zeal, the which your highness hath towards all godly learning, as also my duty towards you, most gracious and sovereign princess; but knowing also, that pusillanimity and idleness are most repugnant unto a reasonable creature, and that (as the philosopher

[1] Probably his niece, Margaret, Countess of Lennox.

sayeth) even as an instrument of iron or of other metal waxeth soon rusty, unless it be continually occupied; even so shall the wit of a man or a woman wax dull and unapt to do or understand anything perfectly, unless it be always occupied upon some manner of study. Which things considered, hath moved so small a portion as God hath lent me, to prove what I could do. And, therefore, have I (as for essay or beginning, following the right notable saying of the proverb aforesaid) translated this little book out of French rhyme into English prose, joining the sentences together, as well as the capacity of my simple wit and small learning could extend themselves.

The which book is entitled or named, "The Mirror or Glass, of the Sinful Soul," wherein is contained, how she (beholding and contemplating what she is), doth perceive how, of herself and her own strength, she can do nothing that good is, or prevaileth for her salvation, unless it be through the grace of God, whose mother, daughter, sister, and wife by the Scriptures she proveth herself to be. Trusting also that, through His incomprehensible love, grace, and mercy, she (being called from sin to repentance), doth faithfully hope to be saved. And although I know that, as for my part which I have wrought in it (as well spiritual as manual), there is nothing done as it should be, nor else worthy to come in your grace's hands, but rather all imperfect and incorrect; yet do I trust also that, howbeit it is like a work which is but new begun and shapen, that the file of your excellent wit and godly learning, in the reading of it (if so it vouchsafe your highness to do), shall rub out, polish, and mend (or else cause to mend), the words (or rather the order of my writing), the which I know, in many places, to be rude, and nothing done as it should be. But I hope that after to have been in your grace's hands, there shall be nothing in it worthy of reprehension, and that in the meanwhile no other (but your Highness only), shall read it or see it, lest my

faults be known of many. Then shall they be better excused (as my confidence is in your grace's accustomed benevolence), than if I should bestow a whole year in writing or inventing ways for to excuse them.

Praying God Almighty, the Maker and Creator of all things, to grant unto your highness the same New Year's day, a lucky and a prosperous year, with prosperous issue, and continuance of many years in good health and continual joy, and all to His honour, praise, and glory.

Towards the end of Henry's life Elizabeth lived for the most part at Hatfield with the little Prince Edward, and they appear to have developed a genuine affection for each other, "for," to quote Sir Robert Naunton, "besides the consideration of blood, there was between these two princes a concurrence and sympathy of their natures and affections, together with the celestial bond—conformity in religion, which had made them one." Before the end of 1546, however, they were parted, Edward going to Hertford, and his "sweetest sister," as he often called her, to the Royal Palace of Enfield, where she received from him the following letter, written in Latin, in answer to one of her own:

PRINCE EDWARD TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH.

["*Letters of the Kings of England.*" From the Harleian MSS.]

December 5, 1546.

Change of place, in fact, did not vex me so much, dearest sister, as your going from me. Now, however, nothing can happen more agreeable to me than a letter from you; and especially as you were the first to send a letter to me, and have challenged me to write. Wherefore I thank you both for your good-will and despatch. I will then strive, to my utmost power, if not to surpass, at least to equal you in good-will and zeal. But this is some comfort to my grief, that I hope to visit you shortly (if no accident intervene with

EDWARD VI ABOUT 1540.

(From a painting by Holbein in the Royal Pictures Gallery at Hampton Court.)

either me or you), as my chamberlain has reported to me. Farewell, dearest sister! EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Elizabeth had now come under the preceptorship of William Grindal, pupil and friend of Roger Ascham. Ascham himself became Elizabeth's tutor when Grindal, who must not be confused with the future Archbishop of Canterbury, died of the plague a year or two later. The following letter from Ascham to Elizabeth's governess, Mrs. Ashley (he calls her Astley), written during Grindal's term of office, may be introduced here:

ROGER ASCHAM TO MRS. ASHLEY.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth.*" From Whittaker's "*Richmondshire.*"]

Gentle Mrs. Astley,—Would God my wit wist what words would express the thanks you have deserved of all true English hearts, for that noble imp (Elizabeth) by your labour and wisdom now flourishing in all goodly godliness, the fruit whereof doth even now redound to her Grace's high honour and profit.

I wish her Grace to come to that end in perfectness and likelihood of her wit, and painfulness in her study, true trade of her teaching, which your diligent overseeing doth most constantly promise. And although this one thing be sufficient for me to love you, yet the knot which hath knit Mr. Astley and you together, doth so bind me also to you, that if my ability would match my good will you should find no friend faster. He is a man I loved for his virtue before I knew him through acquaintance, whose friendship I account among my chief gains gotten at Court. Your favour to Mr. Grindal and gentleness towards me, are matters sufficient enough to deserve more good will than my little power is able to requite.

My good will hath sent you this pen of silver for a token. Good Mrs., I would have you in any case to labour, and not to give yourself to ease. I wish all

increase of virtue and honour to that my good lady [Elizabeth], whose wit, good Mrs. Astley, I beseech you somewhat favour. Blunt edges be dull and (en-)dure much pain to little profit; the free edge is soon turned if it be not handled thereafter. If you pour much drink at once into a goblet, the most part will dash out and run over; if ye pour it softly, you may fill it even to the top, and so her Grace, I doubt not, by little and little may be increased in learning, that at length greater cannot be required. And if you think not this, gentle Mrs. Astley, yet I trust you will take my words as spoken, although not of the greatest wisdom, yet not of the least good will. I pray commend you to my good Lady of Troye, and all that company of godly gentlewomen. I send my lady [Elizabeth] her pen, an Italian book, a book of prayers. Send the silver pen which is broken, and it shall be mended quickly. So I commit and commend you all to the Almighty's merciful protection. Your ever obliged friend, ROGER ASCHAM.

To his very loving friend Mrs. Astley.

CHAPTER II

IN DISGRACE (1547—1549)

Death of Henry VIII. — Seymour offers to marry Elizabeth — Her refusal—Seymour marries Catherine Parr—Elizabeth's dangerous position in their household—Seymour's familiarities—Catherine Parr dismisses Elizabeth to Cheshunt — The Queen-Dowager's death-bed reproaches—Seymour renews his plan to marry Elizabeth—Arrested for High Treason—Elizabeth's critical position—How she baffled Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt—Her letter to the Protector Somerset--The confession of Thomas Parry—Elizabeth's "confession"—Lady Tyrwhitt supersedes Mrs. Ashley as her governess—Elizabeth's protest and demand for a public proclamation.

PRINCE EDWARD and Elizabeth met again on the 30th of January, 1547, when the Earl of Hertford—afterwards the Protector Somerset—brought the young Prince privately from Hertford to Enfield, and there, according to Hayward's "Life of Edward VI.," announced to them both the death of the King their father. They are said to have wept bitterly on receiving the news. The next day Edward was conducted to London, where Henry's death had only that morning been made public. In answer to a letter from Elizabeth on their loss Edward wrote: "There is very little need of my consoling you, most dear sister, because from your learning you know what you ought to do, and from your prudence and pity you perform what your learning causes you to know." In conclusion, says Miss Strickland, in quoting from this letter, he compliments her on the elegance of her sentences, and adds, "I perceive you think of our father's death with a calm mind." If we are to believe the Italian historian Leti, King Henry had not been dead a month before Elizabeth (now consigned to the care of the Queen-Dowager, Catherine Parr) received an offer of marriage from the ambitious and unscrupulous Lord Seymour, brother of the Protector Somerset, and uncle of the boy King. Had Seymour succeeded in his attempt to win Elizabeth's hand without

the Council's consent, the Princess would have been deprived, by the terms of Henry's will, of her claim to the succession. Elizabeth was then in her fourteenth year, and the Admiral nearly forty. We have not before seen the letter attributed to Seymour translated into English. Most of Leti's letters are viewed with suspicion, but Leti, as Miss Strickland observes, "by his access to the Aylesbury MSS. appears to have obtained peculiar information on the private history of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI." In printing it now it is necessary, perhaps, to repeat that Leti generally exercised a good deal of freedom in adapting the original English to his native Italian, and that it is here given from the French translation published in Amsterdam towards the end of the seventeenth century:

THE LORD ADMIRAL SEYMOUR TO PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

February 25, 1547.

Madame,—I wish that I were able by some enchantment to give to this note the power of creating as much tenderness in your heart for me as there is love in mine for you. I beg that you will pardon the liberty I am taking in revealing my feelings to you so soon, and would implore you to believe that it is your beauty and your many excellent qualities, both of mind and person, which have made me bold, and have so bewitched me that I am no longer master of myself. Everyone wishes to be happy; it is implanted in us by Nature. But no one has ever wished it as I do, because to-day I have become so daring as to aspire to the greatest happiness which any man can attain, and desire to possess the greatest treasure which is to be found upon the earth. I have so much respect for you, my Princess, that I dare not tell you of the fire which consumes me, and the impatience with which I yearn to show you my devotion, so that I cannot bear to wait until an occasion shall present itself. I come,

therefore, to open my heart to you, on which the image of your unrivalled charms is so deeply engraven by the hands of the most ardent and respectful love in the world, that I venture to hope one day to possess the original. If it is my good fortune to inspire in you feelings of kindness, and you will consent to a marriage, you may assure yourself of having made the happiness of a man who will adore you till death. Once again I entreat you to pardon the liberty I am taking, since that which arises from the heart is always excusable. I only await two lines from you to know whether I am to be the most happy, or the most miserable of men. Till then I am yours unreservedly, THOMAS, Admiral.

Elizabeth's reply has been translated from Leti in Mrs. Everett Green's "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies":

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO LORD ADMIRAL SEYMOUR.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From Leti.]

February 27, 1547.

My lord Admiral,—The letter you have written to me is the most obliging, and at the same time the most eloquent in the world. And as I do not feel myself competent to reply to so many courteous expressions, I shall content myself with unfolding to you, in few words, my real sentiments. I confess to you that your letter, all elegant as it is, has very much surprised me; for, besides that neither my age nor my inclination allows me to think of marriage, I never could have believed that any one would have spoken to me of nuptials, at a time when I ought to think of nothing but sorrow for the death of my father. And to him I owe so much, that I must have two years at least to mourn for his loss. And how can I make up my mind to become a wife before I shall

have enjoyed for some years my virgin state, and arrived at years of discretion?

Permit me, then, my lord admiral, to tell you frankly that as there is no one in the world who more esteems your merit than myself, or who sees you with more pleasure as a disinterested person, so would I preserve to myself the privilege of recognising you as such, without entering into that strict bond of matrimony which often causes one to forget the possession of true merit. Let your highness be well persuaded that, though I decline the happiness of becoming your wife, I shall never cease to interest myself in all that can crown your merit with glory, and shall ever feel the greatest pleasure in being your servant and good friend, ELIZABETH.

Foiled in this attempt, Seymour turned to the Queen-Dowager—his old love before Henry VIII. robbed him of her hand—and four days later was her affianced husband. According to Edward VI.'s Journal the marriage took place in May, though the fact was not made known until the end of June. Edward, too young to see any impropriety in this precipitous marriage—he was then only in his tenth year—was persuaded into lending his encouragement to the scheme, and gave the pair his blessing. But Catherine's royal step-daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, were both of them highly indignant. Mary begged Elizabeth to leave the Queen-Dowager at once and live with her instead, but Elizabeth, already qualifying for distinction in the world of diplomacy, knew that it would never do to offend either Catherine or Seymour in this way, for both were at that time of considerable influence with the King. So—according to Leti—she sent this answer in reply to Mary's invitation:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO PRINCESS MARY.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From Leti.]

1547.

Princess, and very dear sister,—You are very right in saying, in your most acceptable letters, which you

have done me the honour of writing to me, that, our interests being common, the just grief we feel in seeing the ashes, or rather the scarcely cold body of the King, our father, so shamefully dishonoured by the queen, our stepmother, ought to be common to us also. I cannot express to you, my dear princess, how much affliction I suffered when I was first informed of this marriage, and no other comfort can I find than that of the necessity of submitting ourselves to the decrees of Heaven; since neither you nor I, dearest sister, are in such a condition as to offer any obstacle thereto, without running heavy risk of making our own lot much worse than it is; at least, so I think. We have to deal with too powerful a party, who have got all authority into their hands, while we, deprived of power, cut a very poor figure at Court. I think, then, that the best course we can take is that of dissimulation, that the mortification may fall upon those who commit the fault. For we may rest assured that the memory of the King, our father, being so glorious in itself, cannot be subject to those stains which can only defile the persons who have wrought them. Let us console ourselves by making the best of what we cannot remedy. If our silence do us no honour, at least it will not draw down upon us such disasters as our lamentations might induce.

These are my sentiments, which the little reason I have dictates, and which guides my respectful reply to your agreeable letter. With regard to the returning of visits, I do not see that you, who are the elder, are obliged to this; but the position in which I stand obliges me to take other measures; the queen having shown me so great affection, and done me so many kind offices, that I must use much tact in manœuvring with her, for fear of appearing ungrateful for her benefits. I shall not, however, be in any hurry to visit her, lest I should be charged with approving what I ought to censure.

However, I shall always pay much deference to your

instructions and commands, in all which you shall think convenient or serviceable to you.

It would have been better for Elizabeth's morals if she had accepted Mary's invitation, as her position in the household of Catherine Parr and the handsome Seymour, with whom she lived principally in the Queen's dower houses at Chelsea and Hanworth, was a source of considerable danger to herself and fatal to the domestic happiness of Seymour and his wife. For it was now that the bold-faced husband of the Queen-Dowager—free to draw his net round Elizabeth without suspicion—began the indecorous familiarities with the young Princess which they both, at no distant date, had bitter cause to repent. It is a strange story of sixteenth century manners which unfolds itself in the deposition subsequently made before the Privy Council by Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth's governess. "At Chelsea, after my Lord Thomas Seymour was married to the Queen," she states, "he would come many mornings into the said Lady Elizabeth's chamber before she were ready, and sometimes before she did rise; and if she were up he would bid her good morrow, and ax how she did, and strike her on the back familiarly, and so go forth to his chamber, and sometimes go through to her maidens and play with them. And if the princess were in bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and she would go further in the bed. And one morning he tried to kiss the princess in her bed, and this deponent was there, and bade him go away for shame. At Hanworth, for two mornings, the Queen was with him, and they both tickled my Lady Elizabeth in her bed. Another time, at Hanworth, he romped with her in the garden, and cut her gown, being black cloth, into a hundred pieces; and when Mrs. Ashley came up and chid Lady Elizabeth, she answered, 'She could not strive with all, for the Queen held her while the Lord Admiral cut her dress.' Another time Lady Elizabeth heard the master-key unlock, and knowing my Lord Admiral would come in, ran out of her bed to the maidens, and then went behind the curtain of her bed; and my lord tarried a long time, in hopes that she would come out." When Mrs. Ashley remonstrated with the Lord

THOMAS SEYMOUR, BARON SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY.
(From a painting by Holbein).

Admiral on the improprieties of his behaviour, which had caused the Princess to be evil spoken of, he replied with an oath, "I will tell my Lord Protector how I am slandered; and I will not leave off, for I mean no evil." "At Seymour Place, when the Queen slept there, he did use awhile to come up every morning in his night-gown and slippers. When he found my Lady Elizabeth up, and at her book, then he would look in at the gallery door, and bid her good morrow, and so go on his way; and the deponent told my lord it was an unseemly sight to see a man so little dressed in a maiden's chamber, with which he was angry, but left it." (Haynes.)

The most surprising thing about this behaviour is that the Queen should have encouraged it. She realised her folly when she surprised her husband and Elizabeth alone one day—Elizabeth in his arms. Parry the cofferer confirms this in the course of his confession (p. 48). On another occasion Catherine Parr declared that her husband "looked in at the gallery window and saw my Lady Elizabeth cast her arms about a man's neck." "Her Grace denied it weeping, and bade ax all her women." Nevertheless, the Queen-Dowager thought it prudent to pack the Princess off to Cheshunt; not, apparently, in deep disgrace, for they continued to write to each other in affectionate terms, even Seymour being permitted to join in the correspondence. This is the letter which Elizabeth wrote on her arrival at Cheshunt:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO CATHERINE PARR.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*"]

CHESHUNT, 1547.

Although I could not be plentiful in giving thanks for the manifold kindness received at your Highness' hand at my departure, yet I am something to be borne withal, for truly I was replete with sorrow to depart from your Highness, especially leaving you undoubtful of health: and, albeit I answered little, I weighed it more deeper, when you said you would warn me of all evils that you should hear of me; for if your Grace had not a good opinion of me, you would not have offered

friendship to me that way, that all men judge the contrary. But what may I more say, than thank God for providing such friends to me; desiring God to enrich me with their long life, and me grace to be in heart no less thankful to receive it than I now am glad in writing to show it; and although I have plenty of matter, here I will stay, for I know you are not quiet to read. From Cheston [Cheshunt] this present Saturday. Your Highness' humble daughter, ELIZABETH.

The next is a judiciously-worded letter to Seymour in answer to an apology which he had sent her for being unable to render some little service which he had promised:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE LORD ADMIRAL.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*." From Hearne's "*Sylloge*."]

My Lord,—You needed not to send an excuse to me, for I could not mistrust the not fulfilling your promise to proceed from want of goodwill, but only that opportunity served not. Wherefore I shall desire you to think that a greater matter than this could not make me impute any unkindness in you, for I am a friend not won with trifles, nor lost with the like. Thus I commit you and your affairs into God's hand, who keep you from all evil. I pray you to make my humble commendations to the Queen's highness. Your assured friend to my little power, ELIZABETH.

Then comes the letter to which reference is made on p. 19. The year is not given in the copy as printed from the Smith MSS. in Hearne's "Sylloge Epistolarum" in 1716, but Miss Strickland places it in 1548, which brings it within six weeks of Catherine Parr's confinement and death. We have taken our text from Miss Strickland, after collating it with Hearne—whose heading is simply: "Princess Elizabeth to the Queen"—as well as with the manuscript in the Smith collection, now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. There is nothing in this manuscript, however, to indicate its source: it merely states: "From

an original." Whether this letter really belongs to 1548, or to the earlier date given in Leti's life, or whether the two letters are separate documents—though this seems hardly credible—we must leave to the judgment of individual readers. In any case the following is a surprising production, to say the least of it, from our modern point of view, though not out of keeping with the taste of the age to which it belongs:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO CATHERINE PARR.

[Strickland's "*Catherine Parr*," Hearne's "*Sylloge*," and the Smith MSS., Bodleian Library.]

July 31, [1548].

Although your Highness's letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet, considering what pain it is to you to write, your Grace being so great with child, and so sickly, your commendation were enough in my lord's letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well liking of the country, with my humble thanks that your Grace wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your Highness were like to be cumbered, if I should not depart till I were weary of being with you; although it were the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he hath put you to. Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your Grace, praying the Almighty God to send you a most lucky deliverance; and my mistress[1] wisheth no less, giving your Highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Written, with very little leisure, this last day of July. Your humble daughter, ELIZABETH.

It is possible that there had been nothing worse than unseemly romping in the conduct of Seymour towards

[1] Katherine Ashley, her governess.

Elizabeth, but it had been a dangerous experience for a girl of Elizabeth's parentage and precociousness, and we have no means to-day of knowing what was in the Queen's mind as she lay on her death-bed and whispered reproaches into her husband's ear. With Elizabeth it is not perhaps going too far to say that the evil influence of Thomas Seymour may be traced in some of her amorous indiscretions in later life. The girl was mother to the woman to an exceptional extent in her case. Her training was full of pitfalls for the unwary. Good or bad, however, it shaped Elizabeth's character, and a more high-minded Queen than she became would not, perhaps, have met with Elizabeth's success against all the wiles of England's enemies. There was never much tenderness in Elizabeth's nature, but Seymour, in spite of the difference in their ages, seems to have kindled a spark of real affection in her heart. Nevertheless she knew enough of the world about her to realise that his renewed attentions upon the death of Catherine, with the gossip to which they quickly gave rise, placed her in a serious predicament. Leti is responsible for the following letter, which he says was written to the Admiral by Elizabeth when she heard it suggested that she had refused him because she was in love with some one else:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE LORD ADMIRAL SEYMOUR.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

1548.

My Lord,— Ihave regarded the honour which you have paid me up to the present as an evidence of your natural courtesy, and as a testimony of the loyalty which you have for the memory of the late King, my father. But I have been forced to perceive by the frequent visits which you have made me that you have other intentions, and if I had not made the discovery for myself so many persons have spoken to me of your attentions that I could not have remained ignorant. It has also been said that I have only refused you because I was thinking of some one else. I therefore entreat you, my lord, to set your mind at

rest on this subject, and to be persuaded by this declaration that up to this time I have not the slightest intention of being married, and that if ever I should think of it (which I do not believe is possible) you would be the first to whom I should make known my resolution.

It was one of the numerous articles of high treason drawn up against Seymour that he did "by secret and crafty means, practise to achieve the purpose of marrying the said Lady Elizabeth; to the danger of the King's Majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same." Seymour was arrested and committed to the Tower, on January 17, 1549, followed by Elizabeth's cofferer, or treasurer, Thomas Parry, and her governess, Mrs. Kate Ashley, while the Princess herself was kept at Hatfield more or less as a prisoner of State in the custody of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, commissioner of the Council, whose duty it was to discover how far Elizabeth had committed herself with the arrested Admiral. The following correspondence shows how he fared in his thankless task, helped in the first place by the crafty expedient of a counterfeit letter:

SIR ROBERT TYRWHITT TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).][1]

HATFIELD, *January* 22, 1549.

It may please your Grace to be advertised that after my Lady's Grace had seen a letter (which I devised to Mistress Blanche from a friend of hers) that both Mistress Ashley and her cofferer were put into the Tower, she was marvellously abashed and did weep very tenderly a long time, demanding of my Lady Browne [2] whether they had confessed anything or not, which my Lady Browne incontinently declared

[1] This and the following letters are only briefly summarized in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's Calendar of the Cecil Papers at Hatfield, but they are printed *in extenso* in Haynes's folio volume of 1740.

[2] Lady Browne appears to have been an intimate friend and ally of Seymour, who had recently advised her to give up housekeeping, and to live with Elizabeth, to save charges.

unto me. Whereupon her Grace did send for me, who at my coming declared that she had forgotten certain things to be opened to my Lord Great Master and Master Denny, which she would open unto me, and all other things which she could call to her remembrance that she had done ; the affect whereof was no more but concerning a letter that she had written to my Lord Admiral in the favour of her chaplain Allen ;[1] and in the end of the same she made request to credit her trusty servant, her cofferer, in all other things. But she said that she did mean in that point that my Lord Admiral should be suitor to your Grace for Durham Place,[2] the said letter being written and devised by the cofferer and delivered by him to my Lord Admiral. And the other is this, that her cofferer did write to Mistress Ashley, that my Lord Admiral would see her in his way going to Sudeley, wherein Mistress Ashley did answer by her letter again that he should in no way come hither for fear of suspicion. She declaring the affect of her letter to my Lady's Grace, her Grace was much offended with her, and advised her not to write so, because she would not have her to take upon her the knowledge of any such thing. After all this I did require her to confide her honour and the peril that might ensue, for she was but a subject; and I further declared what a woman Mistress Ashley was, with a long circumstance, saying, that if she would open all things herself, that all the evil and shame should be ascribed to them, and her youth considered both with the King's Majesty, your Grace, and the whole Council: but in no way she will not confess any practice by Mistress Ashley or the cofferer concerning my Lord Admiral; and yet I do see it in her face that she is guilty and

[1] Edmund Allen, who was also chaplain to Elizabeth after she became Queen. He was Bishop-elect of Rochester at the time of his death, which occurred in 1559.

[2] Durham House, Elizabeth's town house—formerly granted by Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn—had just been taken from her by the Council in order to establish a mint there, and Elizabeth, in protesting, had called in the Admiral's assistance.

do perceive as yet she will abide more storms ere she accuse Mistress Ashley. Upon sudden news that my Lord Great Master and Master Denny were arrived at the gate, the cofferer went hastily to his chamber and said to my Lady, his wife, I would I had never been born, for I am undone, and wrung his hands, and cast away his chain from his neck, and his rings from his fingers. This is confessed by his own servant and divers witnesses of the same. My Lady, his wife, is at London, where your Grace may cause her to be examined. Another of his servants doth confess that at his coming into his chamber, he looked very pale and sorrowful and did marvel much at the same. At the present I can find no more matter worth the writing, but commit your Grace to the loving God with much honour. Your Grace's to command, ROBERT TYRWHITT.

SIR ROBERT TYRWHITT TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

HATFIELD, *January* 23, 1549.

It may please your Grace to be advertised, that since I wrote you my last letter, bearing date the 22nd of January, I deliberated with my Lady's Grace many matters, after such sort it was too long to write to your Grace, but all I have got yet is by gentle persuasion, whereby I do begin to grow with her in credit. These things she has confessed, that at the repair of her cofferer from my Lord Admiral, of the answer of her chaplain Allen's letter, he said that Durham Place was to be a mint, and that my Lord Admiral did offer her his own house for the time being to see the King's Majesty. And he asked further whether, if the Council would consent that my Lord Admiral should have her, she would be content therewith, all or no; and she answered that she would not tell him what her mind was therein, and she demanded of him what he meant, and who bade him ask that question; and he said nobody bade

him say so, but he perceived, as he thought, by my Lord Admiral's inquiring whether my Lady's patent was sealed or not, and debating with him what he spent in his own house, and inquiring what she spent in her house, that he was given only that way. This is a good beginning; I trust more will follow. This day she heard that Mistress Ashley was still in Pety Calles,[1] wherein she doth not a little rejoice. I do assure your Grace she hath a very good wit and nothing is gotten of her but by great policy.

Thus committing your Grace to the loving God with honour. Your Grace's humble to command, ROBERT TYRWHITT.

SIR ROBERT TYRWHITT TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

HATFIELD, *January* 28, 1549.

It may please your Grace to be advertised that I have received your letter bearing date the 26th of this present; and according to the purport of the same, have practised with my Lady's Grace, by all means and policy, to cause her to confess more than she hath already done, wherein she doth plainly deny that she knows any more than she already hath opened to me, which things she hath willingly written to your Grace with her own hand; and hath received your letter very kindly and thankfully, and hath been more pleasant since the receipt thereof than she hath been at any time since my being here.

I do verily believe that there hath been some secret promise between my Lady, Mistress Ashley, and the cofferer, never to confess to death, and if it be so, it will never be gotten of her, unless by the King's Majesty or else by your Grace. My Lady's controller, Master Beverley, and I, have taken the account of her cofferer's clerks, which we find very uncertain, and his books so indiscreetly made, that it doth well

[1] Petty Calles, or Petty Calais, was a district in Westminster in which the wool-staplers principally resided.

appear that he had little understanding to execute his office.

And we find her charges more than she can continue withal, wherefore she must of force abate some of her charges. Her request is to your Grace, that if any make suit to you to be her cofferer, that your Grace will stay it until she speaks with you; for it is thought a meaner officer will serve that room, and save in her purse 100*l.* a year. And thus I commit your Grace to the Almighty with much honour. Your Grace's to command, ROBERT TYRWHITT.

It was a critical position for Elizabeth, but she remained undaunted, as may be seen from her letter to the Protector, which, as Tyrwhitt remarks, tallies remarkably with the statements of Ashley and Parry:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

HATFIELD, *January* 28, 1549.

My Lord,—Your great gentleness and good will towards me, as well in this thing as in other things, I do understand, for the which even as I ought, so I do give you humble thanks; and whereas your lordship willeth and counselleth me as an earnest friend, to declare what I know in this matter, and also to write what I have declared to Master Tyrwhitt, I shall most willingly do it. I declared unto him first, that after the cofferer had declared unto me what my Lord Admiral answered, for Allen's matter, and for Durham Place, he told me that my Lord Admiral did offer me his house for my time being with the King's Majesty, and further said and asked me, "if the Council did consent that I should have my Lord Admiral, whether I would consent to it, or no?" I answered, "that I would not tell him what my mind was"; and I further inquired of him "what he meant by asking me that question, or who bade him say so?" He answered

me, and said, "Nobody bade him say so, but that he perceived, as he thought, by my Lord Admiral inquiring whether my patent were sealed or no, and debating what he spent in his house, and inquiring what was spent in my house, that he was given that way rather than otherwise." And as concerning Kate Ashley, she never advised me to it, but said always, when any talked of my marriage, "that she would never have me marry, neither in England nor out of England, without the consent of the King's Majesty, your Grace's, and the Council's."

And after the Queen was departed, when I asked of her "What news she heard from London?" she answered, merrily, "They say your Grace shall have my Lord Admiral, and that he will shortly come to woo you. And, moreover, I said unto him, that the cofferer sent a letter hither, that my lord said that he would come this way as he went down into the country." Then I bade her write as she thought best, and bade her show it to me when she had done; so she wrote, "that she thought it not best, for fear of suspicion," and so it went forth, and the Lord Admiral, after he had heard that, asked the cofferer, "why he might not come to me as well as to my sister?" and then I desired Kate Ashley to write again (lest my lord might think that she knew more in it than he), that she knew nothing, but only suspected, and I also told Master Tyrwhitt that to the effect of the matter, I never consented to any such thing without the Council's consent thereto.[1] And as for Kate Ashley and the cofferer, they never told me that they would practise it. These be the things which I declared to Master Tyrwhitt, and also, whereof my conscience beareth me witness, which I would not for all earthly things offend in anything, for I know I have a soul to be saved as well as other folks have, wherefore I will, above all things, have respect unto this same. If there be any more things which I can remember, I will either write it myself, or

[1] Referring to Seymour's matrimonial scheme.

cause Mr. Tyrwhitt to write it. Master Tyrwhitt and others have told me that there goeth rumours abroad which be greatly both against my honour and honesty, which, above all other things, I esteem, which be these, that I am in the Tower, and with child by my Lord Admiral. My lord, these are shameful slanders, for which, besides the great desire I have to see the King's Majesty, I shall most heartily desire your lordship that I may come to the Court after your first determination that I may show myself there as I am. Written in haste. Your assured friend to my little power, ELIZABETH.

Foiled for the moment at Hatfield, the Council turned to the prisoners in the Tower, and wrung both from Parry and Mrs. Ashley confessions which gave in humiliating detail the coarse familiarities that had passed between the Admiral and Elizabeth before the Dowager-Queen's death, together with the subsequent scheming of Seymour for the Princess's hand. Parry's confession is here printed in full:

CONFESSION OF THOMAS PARRY, COFFERER TO THE LADY ELIZABETH'S GRACE.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

February, 1549.

The first occasion that I did take of talking of the marriage between the Lord Admiral and the said Lady Elizabeth's Grace, was about fourteen days before Christmas last, upon the occasion of the Lord Admiral's gentle offers to me, of his house and all his household stuff unto her Grace for the time of her tarrying at London, when she sued by me to have Durham Place (for so much as that was made a Mint) and that the said Lord Admiral did say that he would come and see her Grace; the declaration whereof to her Grace, she seemed to take very gladly and to accept it very joyfully and thankfully towards him. Whereupon, casting in my mind the reports which I had heard of a marriage betwixt them, and that at all

other times, when by any chance, talk should be of the Lord Admiral, she showed such countenance that it should appear she was very glad to hear of him, and especially would show countenance of gladness when he was well spoken of, I took occasion to ask her, whether if the Council would like it, she would marry with him; to the which she answered, when that comes to pass, I will do as God shall put my mind. I remember well, when I told her Grace, how that the Lord Admiral would gladly she should [take] out the Letters Patent she asked me whether he were so desirous or no indeed; and I said yes, in earnest he was desirous of it. And I told her further how he would have had her to have lands in Gloucestershire, called Bisley, as in parcel of exchange, and in Wales. And she asked me what I thought he meant thereby; and I said I could not tell, unless he go about to have you also, for he wished your lands and would have them that way, and would have your Grace to go to my Lady Somerset at your coming, and by that means to make suit to my Lord's Grace for your exchange, and for a house for you also, and to entertain her Grace for your furtherance. And to this my Lady Elizabeth said, "I daresay he did not so, nor would so," and I said, "Yes, by my faith." "Well" quoth she, "I will not do so, and so tell him." And herewith she seemed to be angry, that she should be driven to make such suits and said, "In faith, I will not come there, nor begin to flatter now." Shortly afterwards my Lady Elizabeth asked me whether I had told Kate Ashley of my Lord Admiral's gentleness and kind offers, and these words and things that I told her; and I said "No." "Well," quoth she, "In any wise go tell it her, for I will know nothing but she shall know it," and said "In faith I cannot be quiet until you have told her of it." And thereupon, taking a time, I declared to Mrs. Ashley my Lord Admiral's communication to me of his gentleness showed, and what I asked her Grace, and her answer also. Then Mrs. Ashley said, she knew it well enough. And I said

further, it seemed to me, that there is good will between the Lord Admiral and her Grace; "I gather it both by him and her Grace also." "Oh," quoth Mrs. Ashley, "it is true, but I had such a charge in this that I dare say nothing in it, but I would wish her his wife of all men living." "Yes," quoth she, "he might bring the matter to pass at the Council's hands well enough." "Marry," quoth I, "she bade me tell you of it"; "Yes," quoth she, "I knew it well enough but I dare not speak of it until I see him." And with this she fell in discourse of her last being with the Lady Somerset's Grace, how that my Lady Somerset had found great faults with her, for my Lady Elizabeth's going in a night in a barge upon the Thames, and for other light parts; whereupon she should say to the said Mrs. Ashley then, she was not worthy to have the governance of a King's daughter, and many other things; wherefore she durst not speak of these matters; and so fell again in praising the Admiral. Then I chanced to say to her, that for all that, I had heard much evil report of the Lord Admiral; that he was not only a very covetous man, and an oppressor, but also an evil jealous man, and how cruelly, how dishonourably and how jealously he had used the Queen. "Tush, tush," quoth she, "that is no matter, I know him better than you do, or those that report him; I know that he will make but too much of her, and that she knows well enough. And as for that jealousy of my Lord Admiral I will tell you: as he came upon a time upstairs to see the Queen, he met with a groom of the chamber upon the stairs with a coal basket coming out of the chamber, and because the door was shut and my Lord without, he was angry, and pretended that he was jealous." "By my faith," quoth I, "all the world speak evil of him, for all this." "No, no," quoth she, "I would wish her to none before him, for all that."

I do remember also she told me that the Admiral loved her but too well, and had done so a good while: and that the Queen was jealous of her and him in so

much that one time the Queen, suspecting the often access of the Admiral to the Lady Elizabeth Grace, came suddenly upon them, where they were all alone (he having her in his arms); wherefore the Queen fell out, both with the Lord Admiral, and with her Grace also.

And hereupon the Queen called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fancy in that matter, and of this was much displeasure. And it was not long before they parted from their families, and as I remember, this was the cause why she was sent from the Queen; or else that her Grace parted from the Queen; I do not perfectly remember whether she said she went of herself, or was sent away.

"Why," quoth I, "hath there been such familiarity indeed between them?" And with that she sighed, and said, as I remember, "I will tell you more another time"; and all this, as I remember, was on Twelfth Night last, that she told me these things. And at the same time that she told me, that he might compass the Council if he would, I remember she said more: "That if the King's Majesty, that dead is, had lived a little longer, she should have been his wife." But after she had told me the tale of the finding of her Grace in his arms, she seemed to repent that she had gone so far with me; and prayed me in any way that I would not disclose these matters; and I said I would not. And again she prayed me not to open it, for her Grace should be dishonoured for ever, and she likewise undone. And I said I would not; and I said I had rather be pulled with horses than I would, or such like words.

And likewise, in bidding me to do her commendations and good will to the Admiral, she required me great secrecy. And I did likewise promise her, and said I had rather be pulled with horses, or such like words, than I would tell it to any. And this is the effect of that communication, as far as ever I can think or remember, as God help me. — THOMAS PARRY.

Armed with Parry's statement, and a similar one from Mrs. Ashley, Tyrwhitt had another interview with Elizabeth, with the following result:

SIR ROBERT TYRWHITT TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

HATFIELD, *February* 5, 1549.

It may please your Grace to be advertised that I have delivered your letter and declared your credit, which is received very thankfully; and with good advice I have gotten a letter to your Grace, and also she has promised me that to-morrow she will call all things to her remembrance, and put it in writing, either of her own hand or else of mine. At the reading of Mistress Ashley's letter, she was much abashed and half breathless before she could read it to an end; and perused all their names closely, and knew both Mistress Ashley's hand, and the cofferer's with half a sight, so that she fully thinketh they have both confessed all they know. When I declared to her that Mistress Ashley would utter nothing until Parry and she were brought face to face; which he stood fast to, of all he had written; she seeing that, called him false wretch, and said that he had promised he would never confess it to death. Her answer was to this "That it was a great matter for him to promise such a promise and to break it." I will to-morrow travail all I can to frame her for her own surety, and to utter the truth. And thus I commit your Grace to God. Your Grace's humble to command, ROBERT TYRWHITT.

Tyrwhitt was evidently flattering himself that the game was now in his hands, but Elizabeth soon undeceived him. By the following day she had recovered from the mortification of reading the written statements which had been shown to her, and, realising that these, after all, did not incriminate her in regard to the one essential point—Seymour's matrimonial plot—she was ready to make her own "confession,"

which is enclosed in Tyrwhitt's next letter to his master. Meantime she also wrote a personal letter to Somerset :

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Ashmolean MSS.]

HATFIELD, *February* 6, 1549.

My Lord,—I have received your gentle letter and also your message by Master Tyrwhitt, for the which two things especially (although for many other things) I cannot give your lordship sufficient thanks, and whereas your Grace doth will me to credit Master Tyrwhitt, I have done so, and will do so as long as he willeth me (as he doth not) to nothing but to that which is for mine honour and honesty. And even as I said to him and did write to your lordship, so I do write now again, that when there doth any more things happen in my mind which I have forgotten, I assure your Grace I will declare them most willingly, for I would not (as I trust you have not) so evil an opinion of me that I would conceal any thing that I knew ; for it were to no purpose, and surely forgetfulness may well cause me to hide things, but undoubtedly else I will declare all that I know. Your assured friend to my little power, ELIZABETH.

To my very good lord, my Lord Protector.

SIR ROBERT TYRWHITT TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

HATFIELD, *February* 7, 1549.

It may please your Grace to be advertised that I do send you all the articles that I received of your Grace, by this bearer ; and also my Lady Elizabeth's confession withal ; which is not so full of matter as I

would it were, nor yet so much as I did procure her to do; but in no way will she confess that our Mistress Ashley, or Parry, willed her to any practice with my Lord Admiral, either by message or writing.

They all sing one song, and so I think they would not do unless they had set the note before, for surely they would confess, or else they could not so well agree. And thus I commit your Grace to the loving God. Your Grace's humble to command, ROBERT TYRWHITT.

THE CONFESSION OF THE LADY ELIZABETH'S GRACE.

1. Katherine Ashley told me, after my Lord Admiral was married to the Queen, that if my Lord might have had his own will, he would have had me, before the Queen. Then I asked her how she knew that; then she said, she knew it well enough, both by himself and by others. The place where she said this I have forgotten, for she hath spoken to me of him many times, and of the which I have forgotten divers times.

2. Another time, after the Queen was dead, Katherine Ashley would have had me to have written a letter to my Lord Admiral, to have comforted him of his sorrow, because he had been my friend in the Queen's time, for he would think great kindness therein. Then I said I would not do so, for it needs not; then said she, if your Grace will not, then will I. And as I do remember I did see it, but what the effect of it was I do not remember.

3. Another time I asked her what news was at London, and she said that the voice went there that my Lord Admiral should marry me; then I smiled at it, and said, it was but London news.

4. Another time she said, "You shall see shortly that he who would fain have had you, before he married the Queen, will come now to woo you;" then I answered her, "Though he himself would peradventure have me, yet I think the Council will not consent to it, for by that you said—that if he had had his own

will he would have had me—I thought there was no let, but only the Council, of his part.

5. Another time I suspect she told me that if the Council did consent to it, she thought it was not amiss. By which sayings, and all the rest, "That if the Council would consent to it, I thought she had right good will thereunto."

6. Howbeit at another time she said she would not wish I should have him, for because that she, that he had before, did so miscarry. Another time when Parry had written home that my Lord Admiral would lend me his house, when she had read it, she told me it was best for Parry to ask Master Denny's advice therefor, and so she sent him word.

7. After, when Parry had declared to me, for Allen's matter, what my Lord Admiral had said, and also for Durham Place, he told me that my Lord asked whether my Patent was sealed or no. He told me that my Lord told him the expenses of his house, and inquired of mine.

8. Another time he asked me whether, if the Council did consent thereunto, to have my Lord Admiral, whether I would consent or no. Then I asked him what he meant to ask me that, or who bade him say so; he answered that nobody bade him say so, but that he gathered by his asking of these questions before, that he meant some such thing; then I said it was but his foolish gathering.

9. Another time he told me that my Lord Admiral wished that my lands were changed into certain lands that were the Queen's.

10. Another time he brought me commendations from my Lord Admiral, and said that he advised me to make haste to get my Patent sealed, and get it into my hands; then I asked him why so hastily; then he said he thought, when I had my Patent sure, that he would go about to get the Council's consent to have me.

11. Another time he told me that my Lord Admiral would wish me that I lay at Ashridge, because that

when he went down into the country it was in his way, and that he would see me.

My Lord, these are the articles which I do remember, that both she and the cofferer talked with me of; and if there be any more behind which I have not declared as yet, I shall most heartily desire your Lordship and the rest of the Council not to think that I do willingly conceal them, but that I have indeed forgotten them. For if I did know them, and did not declare them, I were wonderfully and above all to be rebuked, considering how friendly your Grace has both written to me in letters, and counselled me by messages, to declare what I know herein. Also I assure your Lordship that if there be any more which I have not told (which I think there be not) I will send you word of them, as they come to my mind.

Your assured friend to my little power, ELIZABETH.

It was Elizabeth's first real tussle in diplomacy, and, for a girl of sixteen, she scored heavily. Forced for the moment to acknowledge defeat, the Council could only punish her by appointing Lady Tyrwhitt as her governess in place of her favourite, Mrs. Ashley:

THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

FROM THE COURT, *February* 17, 1549.

Madame,—After due commendations to your Grace; whereas Katherine Ashley, who heretofore hath had the special charge to see to the good education and government of your person, hath shown herself far unmeet to occupy any such place longer about your Grace, and we thereby thought convenient to send unto you the Lady Tyrwhitt, to remain about you in lieu of the said Ashley, and to commit unto her the same charge about your person that Ashley had. Being informed that she hath not showed herself so much attendant to her office in this part as we looked for at her hands, we have thought good, hearing

lately tell of her being here, somewhat to say to her roundly in that behalf. Whereupon, as we doubt not she will endeavour herself from henceforth in all things to the weal and honour of your Grace; so our trust is, that you will accept her service thankfully, and also hear and follow her good advice from time to time, and especially in such matters as we have at this time appointed her to move unto you, the sequel whereof will, in the end, turn most to your Grace's own honour and commodity, to the good contentment of His Majesty, and the satisfaction of all who wish unto you well to prosper in all virtue and honour.

Elizabeth was extremely annoyed at this, and made little attempt to disguise her displeasure with her new governess, who, indeed, was herself by no means pleased with her appointment. Thereupon Sir Robert Tyrwhitt wrote the following letter to Somerset:

SIR ROBERT TYRWHITT TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[*Burghley State Papers* (Haynes).]

HATFIELD, *February* 19, 1549.

It may please your Grace to be advertised, that after my wife's repair hither, she declared to the Lady Elizabeth's Grace that she was called before your Grace and the Council and had a rebuke, that she had not taken upon her the office to see her well governed, in lieu of Mrs. Ashley.[1] Her answer was, that Mrs. Ashley was her mistress, and that she had not so demeaned herself that the Council should now need to put any more mistresses unto her. Whereunto my wife answered, seeing she did allow Mrs. Ashley to be her mistress, she need not to be ashamed to have any honest woman to be in that place. She took the matter so heavily that she wept all that night and lowered all the next day, till she received your letter; and then she sent for me and asked me whether she

[1] Evidently referring to the time when Lady Tyrwhitt, who was a daughter of Catherine Parr's first husband, Lord Borough of Gainsborough, lived with the Princess in the Queen-Dowager's household.

was best to write to you again or not. I said if she would make answer that she would follow the effect of your letter, I thought it well done that she should write; but in the end of the matter I perceived that she was very loth to have a governor; and to avoid the same, said the world would note her to be a great offender, having so hastily a governor appointed her. And all is no more, she fully hopes to recover her old mistress again. The love she yet beareth her is to be wondered at. I told her if she would consider her honour and the sequel thereof, she would, considering her years, make suit to your Grace to have one, rather than to make delay to be without one one hour. She cannot digest such advice in no way; but if I should say my phantasy, it were more meet she should have two than one. She would in anywise write to your Grace, wherein I offered her my advice, which she would in no wise follow, but write her own phantasy. She beginneth now a little to droop, by reason she heareth that my Lord Admiral's houses be dispersed.[1] And my wife telleth me now that she cannot hear him discommended but she is ready to make answer therein; and so she hath not been accustomed to do, unless Mrs. Ashley were touched, whereunto she was very ready to make answer vehemently. . . . Your Grace's humble to command, ROBERT TYRWHITT.

The Protector meantime was again pressing for a more explicit declaration from Elizabeth regarding his brother's conduct. So determined, as Tyrwhitt says, to "write her own phantasy," she dispatched another letter to Somerset, in which it will be seen that she began to take the offensive:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*." From the Lansdowne MSS.]

HATFIELD, *February* 21, 1549.

My Lord,—Having received your Lordship's letters, I perceive in them your good will towards me, because

[1] The distribution of the Lord Admiral's houses after his arrest.

you declare to me plainly your mind in this thing, and again for that you would not wish that I should do anything that should not seem good unto the Council, for the which thing I give you most hearty thanks. And whereas, I do understand, that you do take in evil part the letters that I did write unto your lordship, I am very sorry that you should take them so, for my mind was to declare unto you plainly, as I thought, in that thing which I did, also the more willingly, because (as I write to you) you desired me to be plain with you in all things. And as concerning that point that you write, that I seem to stand in mine own wit, it being so well assured of mine own self, I did assure me of myself no more than I trust the truth shall try; and to say that which I know of myself I did not think should have displeased the Council or your Grace. And, surely, the cause why that I was sorry that there should be any such about me, was because that I thought the people will say that I deserved, through my lewd demeanour, to have such a one [Lady Tyrwhitt] and not that I mislike anything that your lordship, or the Council, shall think good, for I know that you and the Council are charged with me, or that I take upon me to rule myself, for I know that they are most deceived that trusteth most in themselves, wherefore I trust you shall never find that fault in me, to the which thing I do not see that your Grace has made any direct answer at this time, and seeing they make so evil reports already shall be but an increasing of these evil tongues.

Howbeit, you did write "that if I would bring forth any that had reported it, you and the Council would see it redressed," which thing, though I can easily do it, I would be loth to do, because it is mine own cause; and, again, that it should be but abridging of an evil name of me that am glad to punish them, and so get the evil will of the people, which thing I would be loth to have. But if it might seem good to your lordship, and the rest of the Council, to send forth a proclamation into the countries that they refrain their

tongues, declaring how the tales be but lies, it should make both the people think that you and the Council have great regard that no such rumours should be spread of any of the King's Majesty's sisters, (as I am, though unworthy,) and also that I should think myself to receive such friendship at your hands as you have promised me, although your lordship hath showed me great already. Howbeit, I am ashamed to ask it any more, because I see you are not so well minded thereunto. And as concerning that you say that I give folks occasion to think, in refusing the good to uphold the evil, I am not of so simple understanding, nor I would that your Grace should have so evil an opinion of me that I have so little respect of my own honesty, that I would maintain it if I had sufficient promise of the same, and so your Grace shall prove me when it comes to the point. And thus I bid you farewell, desiring God always to assist you in all your affairs. Written in haste. Your assured friend, to my little power, ELIZABETH.

Somerset and the Council so far acceded to Elizabeth's request as to issue the proclamation she desired. Her next letter to Somerset, written three days after the bill of attainder against Thomas Seymour had been read in the House of Lords, was a bold appeal on behalf of her discharged governess, Mrs. Ashley, who, with her husband, stood in danger of sharing Seymour's fate:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*." From the Lansdowne MSS.]

HATFIELD, *March* 7, 1549.

My Lord,—I have a request to make unto your Grace which fear has made me omit till this time for two causes, the one because I saw that my request for the rumours which were spread abroad of me took so little place, which thing when I considered, I

thought I should little profit in any other suit; howbeit, now I understand that there is a proclamation for them (for the which I give your Grace and the rest of the Council most humble thanks), I am the bolder to speak for another thing; and the other was, because, peradventure your lordship and the rest of the Council will think that I favour her evil doing, for whom I shall speak, which is Kateryn Ashley, that it would please your Grace and the rest of the Council to be good unto her. Which thing I do, not to favour her in any evil (for that I would be sorry to do), but for these considerations, that follow, the which hope doth teach me in saying, that I ought not to doubt but that your Grace and the rest of the Council will think that I do it for other considerations. First, because that she hath been with me a long time, and many years, and hath taken great labour and pain in bringing me up in learning and honesty; and, therefore, I ought of very duty speak for her; for Saint Gregory sayeth, "that we are more bound to them that bringeth us up well than to our parents, for our parents do that which is natural for them that bringeth us into this world, but our bringers up are a cause to make us live well in it." The second is, because I think that whatsoever she hath done in my Lord Admiral's matter, as concerning the marrying of me, she did it because knowing him to be one of the Council, she thought he would not go about any such thing without he had the Council's consent thereunto; for I have heard her many times say "that she would never have me marry in any place without your Grace's and the Council's consent." The third cause is, because that it shall, and doth make men think, that I am not clear of the deed myself; but that it is pardoned to me because of my youth, because that she I loved so well is in such a place. Thus hope, prevailing more with me than fear, hath won the battle, and I have at this time gone forth with it; which I pray God be taken no otherwise than it is meant. Written in haste from Hatfield, this seventh

day of March. Also, if I may be so bold, not offending, I beseech your Grace and the rest of the Council to be good to Master Ashley, her husband, which, because he is my kinsman, I would be glad he should do well. Your assured friend, to my little power, ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER III

REDEEMING HER CHARACTER (1549—1553).

Seymour's Execution—Elizabeth's Illness—Her efforts to redeem her character—Early association with William Cecil—Her Latin Letters to Edward VI.—Roger Ascham's tribute to her scholarship—Public entry into London—Mary summoned before the Council—Further Letters to Cecil—Matrimonial schemes for Elizabeth—Edward's fatal Illness—Elizabeth's intercepted journey and letter to him—Northumberland's Plot—Elizabeth refuses to be bought—Joins Mary in her triumphal entry into London—Declines at first to attend Mass—Her submission—The rival Ambassadors.

ELIZABETH was as loyal to Parry as to Mrs. Ashley; she reinstated him, after a year's interval, in his office as cofferer, and on her accession to the throne she appointed him controller of the royal household. She continued to confer preferment upon both Parry and his daughter to the end of their lives—"conduct," remarks Miss Strickland, "which naturally induces a suspicion that secrets of great moment had been confided to him—secrets that probably would have touched not only the maiden name of his royal mistress, but placed her life in jeopardy, and that he had preserved these inviolate. The same may be supposed with respect to Mrs. Ashley, to whom Elizabeth clung with unshaken tenacity through every storm." Personally, however, we are inclined to regard these favours of Elizabeth merely as showing an unwonted sense of gratitude to her old friends, for, whatever there was to reveal, it could not affect her in later life. The execution of Seymour on March 20, 1549, did not pass without leaving its mark on Elizabeth. "This day," she is reported by Leti to have declared, when news of her lover's death was brought to her, "died a man, with much wit and very little judgment," but the words, if they were ever uttered in this connexion, were probably spoken for effect, to disguise her true feelings, for there is little doubt that in her heart of hearts the death of Seymour was a real grief.

She fell so seriously ill with depression during the ensuing year that her life was in danger, and, as we have seen, she obtained permission from Somerset to restore to her service not only her cofferer Parry, but her favourite Kate Ashley. The Protector also sent the royal physicians to her aid, and forwarded, with many kind messages both from himself and his wife, her long-delayed letters patent, shrewdly suspecting perhaps—as Miss Strickland suggests—that uneasiness about her pecuniary affairs might have something to do with her indisposition:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Record Office MSS.]

1549.

My very good Lord,—Many lines will not serve to render the least part of the thanks that your Grace hath deserved of me, most especially for that you have been careful for my health; and sending unto me not only your comfortable letters, but also physicians, as Doctor Bill, whose diligence and pain has been a great part of my recovery; for whom I do most heartily thank your Grace, desiring you to give him thanks for me, who can ascertain you of mine estate of health, wherefore I will not write it. And although I be most bounden to you in this time of my sickness; yet I may not be unthankful for that your Grace hath made expedition for my patent; with my most hearty thanks and commendations to you and to my good lady your wife, most heartily fare you well. From Cheshunt this present Friday. Your assured friend to my power, ELIZABETH.

Next comes an oft-quoted letter written by Princess Elizabeth's restored cofferer to William Cecil, when Cecil was the Protector Somerset's secretary and right hand. The letter shows not only the influence which Cecil was known to possess with the Protector, and the wise caution which the Princess was at this time compelled to use, but the

confidence which Elizabeth even then reposed in the man who was destined to help her, more than any one else, to build up the future greatness of England. There is an earlier letter than this among the Lansdowne MSS., addressed to Cecil on Elizabeth's behalf by her governess, Mrs. Ashley. It is dated August 2 [1549], and is an application for the exchange of "a poor man, having many children, and has lien long in Scotland prisoner," for a Scottish prisoner in Colchester, Mrs. Ashley explaining that the Princess writes to Cecil on this account "being so much assured of your willing mind to set forth her causes to my Lord Protector's Grace." There is a postscript in the Princess's hand—"I pray you further this poor man's suit. Your friend Elizabeth." Only a few weeks after the following letter was written Somerset was arrested by his rival Warwick, and for nearly a year—part of which he spent in the Tower—Cecil disappeared from public life:

THOMAS PARRY TO WILLIAM CECIL.

["*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office MSS.]

September 25, 1549.

Sir,—The Ambassador of Venice came yesterday with letters of commendation from the Duke, importing that he, being the Orator of the King's Majesty, should also on the Duke's behalf see her Grace, with general credit therein; and perceiving that my Lord's Grace had spoken with him as he said, [he] was used thereafter: he talked with her Grace at sundry times yesterday, and hunted here; and at night took his leave, and is departed.

Hereof her Grace hath with all haste commanded me to send unto you, and to advertise you, to the intent forthwith it may please you at her earnest request either to move my Lord's Grace, and to declare this unto him yourself, or else forthwith to send word in writing, that her Grace may know thereby whether she shall herself write thereof; not for

that the talk did import weight, but that her Grace will neither know nor do in matters that either may sound or seem to be of importance without doing of my Lord's Grace to understand thereof: and in case ye shall advise her Grace to write, then so forthwith to advertise her Grace. And in the mean season she enjoineth you to make his Grace privy to that which she hath enjoined you, with hearty commendations to give his Grace knowledge hereof; because, as I said, though there be no great thing yet appearing, or sounding or seeming to be of any importance, it shall no sooner be in her Grace's head than my Lord's Grace shall have intelligence thereof.

Herein she desires you to use her trust as in the rest, using such speed as you shall think best to appertain. . . .

The 25th of Sept., 1549. All your own bounden, THOMAS PARRY."

To the Right Worshipful Mr. Cecil, Esquire.

By the time that Mrs. Ashley was restored to her, Elizabeth appears to have been reconciled to her new governess, Lady Tyrwhitt, and to have found solace in the religious and scholarly pursuits of that learned woman. With Admiral Seymour's blot on her escutcheon it was clearly Elizabeth's policy, if not her inclination, to cultivate a taste and reputation for piety and sedateness, and it is remarkable how soon she became a pattern of all the virtues. She had a natural aptitude for learning, and, with her brother Edward, had already been well grounded in the ancient and modern languages. The following examples of the affectionate correspondence which passed between the young King and his favourite sister are all translated from the Latin, and are here reprinted from Mrs. Everett Green's "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies." Most of the originals are in the Bodleian Library. As they contain no points of internal evidence by which their full dates can be determined, they are classed together for the sake of convenience:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO EDWARD VI.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Smith MSS., Bodleian Library.]

I am able, most noble King, to offer many excuses that I have not followed my old custom, in preparing some fresh little present at this season for your Highness. For, in the first place, every description of learning, which in me was ever very small, has been either so wasted by the long duration of my sickness, or so far cut off by my being unused to study, or so hindered by the infirm state of my health, that my old custom of bringing something or other out of my scanty literary store-house—a custom always very easily performed by me, when very well approved by you—has been now altogether taken from me. And, even though I had not been quite an invalid, yet I should be afraid to send (as I was wont) to your Majesty anything trifling, since you now so much excel in learning, that you can receive with a welcome nothing but what is excellent and perfect. I, thus altogether debarred from my old custom of sending, began to turn my thoughts to a new one: I was thinking about some present in gold or gems. When I was revolving in my mind this design, I saw that everything of mine is so far beneath your dignity, that I was thinking of sending no present at all, rather than one of no value. But from this concern about selecting something excellent, which I might with propriety offer you, my Lord Protector relieved me, by whose counsel it has been arranged that this custom of sending new year's gifts should be abolished; and the wisdom of his policy I shall willingly follow. However, this short letter I have sent to make known to your Majesty what new reason I have followed, in laying aside my old custom.

Therefore, instead of the accustomed present, I offer, as I have ever done by these letters of mine, to your Majesty, that affection, zeal, good-will, fidelity, and reverence, which either nature can demand in a

sister, or obedience in a very humble subject. And that testimony of my ready duty, which I now willingly make by letter, I myself, in person, would most willingly express, if I were assured it would not displease your Majesty at all.

May the great and good God increase your Majesty more and more, daily, in virtue, learning, and honour. At Hatfield, 2nd January. Your Majesty's most humble sister and servant, ELIZABETH.

To the most illustrious and most noble King Edward the Sixth.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO EDWARD VI.[1]

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Smith MSS., Bodleian Library.]

No more frequent or plainer proofs can be given of your love to me, O most serene and illustrious King, than those of late, when I enjoyed the treat of your most delightful society. This when I call to mind (and I daily do so) I seem, as it were, still to be present with you, and to be again enjoying the courtesy of your conversations. And farther—when those your countless favours to me come into my mind, with which you received me on my arrival, and with which you dismissed me on my departure, I cannot easily express how my mind is drawn divers ways, and I feel a double anxiety. For, while perceiving, from the greatness of your boons, your fraternal affection most greatly inclined to me, I conceived no little joy and delight therefrom; so, on the other hand, weighing in a just and fair balance the multitude of your services towards me, I am grieved, because I am convinced I can never repay their real value—no, not even in thought, much less in thanks. Lest, however, your Majesty should judge your so many and so great favours to me ill conferred, or rather (to use the words of Cicero taken from Ennius) ill done, or me unmindful and ungrateful, I now desire,

[1] In the copy of this letter the autograph is said to be in the Bodleian Library; but it has been vainly sought for there.—*Mary Everett Green.*

though I cannot in substance, to thank you at least, in some degree, by words; which had indeed been done much sooner, either by letter or message, if a small work, which I was desirous of sending to your Majesty, had not delayed my purpose. But, since it could not (as I supposed it would) be brought to a close by me, on account of the shortness of the time, which I see flows from me even faster than water; I now hope that this letter, however rude, will plead my cause when absent, before your Majesty, and at the same time evince, in some degree, my disposition towards you; for that this can be done fully and amply enough by me in these dumb words, I reckon to be quite impossible: especially as (your Majesty is well aware) it is peculiar to my disposition, not only not to express in words as much as I think, but also not to say more than I think. Of which the latter fault (I mean, the saying more), as few detest, so many practise, on most occasions; but especially in the courts of princes and kings, who must especially beware, that they do not seem to have more *flatterers* in their private chambers, than *birds of prey* [1] outside their palaces. Of which subject enough for the present.

This only I pray, that God may preserve your Majesty, as long as possible, in safety, to the glory of His name and the advantage of the realm. Hatfield, 2nd of February. Your Majesty's very humble sister and servant, ELIZABETH.

To the most illustrious and most noble King Edward the Sixth.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO EDWARD VI.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Smith MSS., Bodleian Library.]

What cause I had of sorrow, when I heard first of your Majesty's sickness, all men might guess, but none but myself could feel, which to declare were or

[1] The original passage is "ne plures intra cubicula sua κόλακας quam extra aulam suam κόρακας, habere videantur." The play upon the Greek words is lost in a translation.—*Mary Everett Green.*

might seem a point of flattery; and therefore I omit to write it. But, as the sorrow could not be little, because the occasions were many, so is the joy great to hear of your good escape out of the perilous diseases. And, that I am fully satisfied and well assured of the same by your Grace's own hand, I must need give you my most humble thanks, assuring your Majesty, that a precious jewel at another time could not so well have contented, as your letter in this case hath comforted me. For now do I say with Saint Austin, that a disease is to be accounted no sickness, that shall cause a better health when it is past, than was assured afore it came. For afore you had them, every man thought that that should not be eschewed of you that was not escaped of many. But since you have had them doubt of them is past, and hope is given to all men, that it was a purgation by these means for other worse diseases, which might happen this year. Moreover, I consider that, as a good father, that loves his child dearly, doth punish him sharply, so God, favouring your Majesty greatly, hath chastened you straitly; and, as a father doth it for the further good of his child, so hath God prepared this for the better health of your Grace.

And, in this hope, I commit your Majesty to His hands, most humbly craving pardon of your Grace that I did write no sooner; desiring you to attribute the fault to my evil head, and not to my slothful hand. From Hatfield, this 21st of April. Your Majesty's most humble sister to command, ELIZABETH.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO EDWARD VI.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Smith MSS., Bodleian Library.]

O King, most serene and illustrious, the reason that you have not, for so long a time, seen any letters from me is, not that I am destitute of matter, of which I have abundance, if it be nothing more than to thank you for your numberless favours, and to show

some token of my gratitude, but because the pain in my head precluded all modes of writing to your Majesty. Truly, I am both ashamed and grieved that I must so often make excuses of this kind; however, I choose rather to express the true cause of my negligence, although it be to my prejudice, than to invent a falsity, which is contrary to my nature and disposition. Since then this the true cause is now, by the blessing of the great and good God, removed, and I am somewhat restored to health, I think I ought now to resume my long interrupted duty of writing, in order that your Majesty may be assured of one thing —that, although I have omitted to write, I have never remitted in my love and bounden respect towards you. For, such is the power of true and unfeigned love, that it binds together those separated even by the longest distances; I, then, who, from your tender infancy, have ever been your fondest sister—how can I do other than follow you with heart, thought, and even dumb words, I mean, with my letters? Thus, although absent from you in the one part of myself, namely, in body; yet I may prove to your Majesty that I ever am and have been present to you in that other part—the mind. And, since it is in mind that true love consists, which, like a god (as it were), is not necessarily confined by the restraints of space, I hope, nay, I am sure, that by no interval of space or time can I be excluded from your good-will to me.

With regard to myself, I can truly affirm, that your absence has increased rather than lessened my love for you. For such is the nature of mankind that the blessings which are before their eyes they do not sufficiently value; but those more distant, they seem to covet more eagerly. If your Majesty hold this opinion, you will be persuaded that, neither interruption of letter-writing, nor intervention of space, can prove an obstacle to keep me from showing to you due regard and reverence.

May the Lord Jesus, who rules all by His own divine will, preserve your Majesty to us for many years, with

increase of virtue. Ashridge, 26th of July. Your Majesty's most lowly servant and sister, ELIZABETH.

The Latin letters of Elizabeth's famous tutor, Roger Ascham—written to his friend John Sturmius, the learned Rector of the Protestant University of Strasburg—give a striking picture of his royal pupil's proficiency, as well as of the taste for learning which pervaded the Court of Edward VI.:

ROGER ASCHAM TO JOHN STURMIUS.

[Aikin's "*Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.*" From Ascham's Latin Letters.]

1550.

. . . Never was the nobility of England more lettered than at present. Our illustrious King Edward in talent, industry, perseverance, and erudition, surpasses both his own years and the belief of men. . . . I doubt not that France will also yield the just praise of learning to the Duke of Suffolk[1] and the rest of that band of noble youths educated with the King in Greek and Latin literature, who depart for that country on this very day.

Numberless honourable ladies of the present time surpass the daughters of Sir Thomas More in every kind of learning. But among them all, my illustrious mistress the Lady Elizabeth shines like a star, excelling them more by the splendour of her virtues and her learning, than by the glory of her royal birth. In the variety of her commendable qualities, I am less perplexed to find matter for the highest panegyric than to circumscribe that panegyric within just bounds. Yet I shall mention nothing respecting her but what has come under my own observation.

For two years she pursued the study of Greek and Latin under my tuition; but the foundations of her knowledge in both languages were laid by the diligent instruction of William Grindal, my late beloved friend

[1] This was one of the two Dukes of Suffolk, Henry and Charles Brandon, both of whom died young of the sweating sickness.

and seven years my pupil in classical learning at Cambridge. From this university he was summoned by John Cheke to Court, where he shortly after received the appointment of tutor to this lady. After some years, when through her native genius, aided by the efforts of so excellent a master, she had made a great progress in learning, and Grindal, by his merit and the favour of his mistress, might have aspired to high dignities, he was snatched away by a sudden illness, leaving a greater miss of himself in the Court than I remember any other to have done these many years.

I was appointed to succeed him in his office; and the work which he had so happily begun, without my assistance indeed, but not without some counsels of mine, I diligently laboured to complete. Now, however, released from the throng of a Court, and restored to the felicity of my former learned leisure, I enjoy, through the bounty of the King, an honourable appointment in this university.

The Lady Elizabeth has accomplished her sixteenth year; and so much solidity of understanding, such courtesy united with dignity, have never been observed at so early an age. She has the most ardent love of true religion and of the best kind of literature. The constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endued with a masculine power of application. No apprehension can be quicker than her's, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English; Latin, with fluency, propriety, and judgment; she also spoke Greek with me, frequently, willingly, and moderately well. Nothing can be more elegant than her handwriting, whether in the Greek or Roman character. In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly delight. With respect to personal decoration, she greatly prefers a simple elegance to show and splendour, so despising "the outward adorning of plaiting the hair and of wearing of gold," that in the whole manner of her life she rather resembles Hippolyta than Phædra.

She read with me almost the whole of Cicero, and a great part of Livy: from these two authors, indeed, her knowledge of the Latin language has been almost exclusively derived. The beginning of the day was always devoted by her to the New Testament in Greek, after which she read select orations of Isocrates and the tragedies of Sophocles, which I judged best adapted to supply her tongue with the purest diction, her mind with the most excellent precepts, and her exalted station with a defence against the utmost power of fortune. For her religious instruction, she drew first from the fountains of Scripture, and afterwards from St. Cyprian, the "Commonplaces" of Melancthon, and similar works which convey pure doctrine in elegant language. In every kind of writing she easily detected any ill-adapted or far-fetched expression. She could not bear those feeble imitators of Erasmus who bind the Latin language in the fetters of miserable proverbs; on the other hand, she approved a style chaste in its propriety, and beautiful by perspicuity, and she greatly admired metaphors, when not too violent, and antitheses when just, and happily opposed. By a diligent attention to these particulars, her ears became so practised and so nice, that there was nothing in Greek, Latin, or English, prose or verse, which, according to its merits or defects, she did not either reject with disgust, or receive with the highest delight. . . . Had I more leisure, I would speak to you at greater length of the King, of the Lady Elizabeth, and of the daughters of the Duke of Somerset, whose minds have also been formed by the best literary instruction. But there are two English ladies whom I cannot omit to mention; nor would I have you, my Sturmius, omit them, if you meditate any celebration of your English friends, than which nothing could be more agreeable to me. One is Jane Grey, the other is Mildred Cecil, who understands and speaks Greek like English, so that it may be doubted whether she is most happy in the possession of this surpassing degree of knowledge, or in having

had for her preceptor and father Sir Anthony Cooke, whose singular erudition caused him to be joined with John Cheke in the office of tutor to the King, or finally, in having become the wife of William Cecil, lately appointed secretary of state ; a young man indeed, but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled both in letters and in affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded by the consenting voice of Englishmen the four-fold praise attributed to Pericles by his rival Thucydides—"To know all that is fitting, to be able to apply what he knows, to be a lover of his country, and superior to money."

Elizabeth's new *rôle* appears to have answered its purpose admirably. The young King, delighted to hear such good accounts of his former playmate, wrote for her portrait, in answer to which she sent him the following letter, which at least justifies the worthy Ascham's remark as to her fondness for metaphors :

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO KING EDWARD VI.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth.*" From the Harleian Manuscripts.]

HATFIELD, *May* 15, 1550.

Like as the rich man that daily gathereth riches to riches, and to one bag of money layeth a great sort till it come to infinite, so methinks your Majesty, not being sufficed with many benefits and gentlenesses showed to me afore this time, doth now increase them in asking and desiring where you may bid and command, requiring a thing not worthy the desiring for itself, but made worthy for your Highness' request. My picture, I mean, in which, if the inward good mind toward your Grace might as well be declared as the outward face and countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment but prevented it, nor have been the last to grant but the first to offer it. For the face I grant I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present. For though from the grace of the picture

the colours may fade by time, may give by weather, may be spotted by chance; yet the other, nor time with her swift wings shall overtake, nor the misty clouds with their lowerings may darken, nor chance with her slippery foot may overthrow.

Of this, although yet the proof could not be great, because the occasions hath been but small, notwithstanding as a dog hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in deeds, where now I do write them but in words. And further, I shall most humbly beseech your Majesty, that when you shall look on my picture, you will vouchsafe to think that, as you have but the outward shadow of the body afore you, so my inward mind wisheth that the body itself were oftener in your presence; howbeit, because both my so being I think could do your Majesty little pleasure, though myself great good; and again, because I see as yet not the time agreeing thereunto, I shall learn to follow this saying of Orace, [*sic*][1] *Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest.* And thus I will (troubling your Majesty I fear) end with my most humble thanks. Beseeching God long to preserve you to His honour, to your comfort, to the realm's profit, and to my joy. Your Majesty's most humble sister, ELIZABETH.

Ten months later Elizabeth was permitted to leave the solitude of Hatfield, to which she had been restricted since her disgrace with Seymour, and to make a public entry into London, with a great train of lords, knights, and gentlemen, and about two hundred ladies. This was after the first imprisonment in the Tower of the Protector Somerset, and her coming was part of the subtle game of Somerset's rival, the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, who was now affecting zeal for Protestantism to aid his ambition, though on the scaffold rather more than three

[1] It is unfortunate for Ascham's panegyric on Elizabeth's learning that in venturing to quote "Orace" she happened to choose one of the proverbs of Publius Syrus, probably culled—as Dr. Jessopp suggests in pointing out this mistake in his "Life of Elizabeth" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—from some commonplace book, according to the custom of the day.

years later he avowed himself a staunch Catholic. Mary, who declined to relinquish the Mass after the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1549, was summoned from Essex in March, 1550, to defend herself before the Council, and Elizabeth, who, as Froude says, "had been educated in a confused Protestantism which had evaded doctrinal difficulties, and confined itself chiefly to anathemas of Rome," was brought by Warwick as an antidote to any popular feeling that might be roused by the presence of Mary in the capital. Whether they would or not, the royal sisters were thus openly made rivals to each other, the elder as the heroine of the Catholic party, which, outside the great towns and seaports, was still immensely superior in numbers to the Protestants, and the younger as the heroine of the Reformed Religion. It is curious to read of Elizabeth's scorn for jewels and fine clothes in those early days, when we remember her extravagant tastes in later life, her blaze of ornaments, her three thousand gowns, her eighty wigs of many colours. But it answered her present purpose to set a virtuous example in this respect, and when she returned to Hatfield she had not only succeeded in re-establishing her fair fame, but in impressing her personality upon the hearts of the vast majority of Londoners.

In the swift march of events which led to the final overthrow and execution of Somerset, the death of Edward VI., and the accession of Mary after the brief sovereignty of Lady Jane Grey, Elizabeth was wise enough to keep in the background. Her friend Cecil, having sold himself to Somerset's rival, as Professor Pollard shows in his masterly study of "England under Protector Somerset," became Northumberland's Secretary of State on September 5, 1550, and there seems to be little doubt that Elizabeth appealed to him in times of emergency, not only in Edward's last years, but in the more dangerous reign of her sister Mary. It must have been done very discreetly, however, to have escaped detection in Mary's time, when Elizabeth's enemies were watching her every movement with searching keenness. Cecil's advice to the Princess, if given at all, "was probably," to quote from Major Hume's life of "The Great Lord Burghley," "to do as he himself endeavoured to do; namely, to conform as much

as might be necessary for her safety, and to avoid entanglements or engagements of every description. This, at all events, was the course they both successfully followed." The following letter, written shortly after Cecil's appointment as Secretary of State under Northumberland, and a few weeks before receiving his knighthood, reveals the intimate terms on which he stood with Elizabeth at this time:

THOMAS PARRY TO WILLIAM CECIL.

["Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office MSS.]

September 15, 1550.

Sir,—I have enclosed herein her Grace's letters, for so is her Grace's commandment, which she desires you, according to her trust, to deliver from her unto my Lord's Grace; taking such opportunity therein, by your wisdom, as thereby the rather she may by letters again hear from his Grace; and that also she may somewhat understand what time his Grace, unto whom she refers all, shall think aptest for her access.

Her Grace commanded me to write this: "Write my commendations in your letters to Mr. Cecil, that I am well assured, tho' I send not daily to him, that he doth not, for all that, daily forget me; say, indeed, I assure myself thereof."

Touching your gentle letters, I think myself most bounden to you, that so gently would participate my service, or the pleasure I may do you; whereof I beseech you to assure yourself ever, not as a young poor friend, but as your own self, as far as ever my power may extend. Your request is [finished] fully; let the party make the report.

I had forgotten to say to you that her Grace commanded me to say to you, for the excuse of her hand, that it is not now as good as she trusts it shall be; her Grace's unhealth hath made it weaker, and so unsteady, and that is the cause.

Thus, leaving to trouble you, I desire Christ give you perfect health, and send you one day's leisure to

see her Grace, and myself once able to deserve that I have found in you. At Hatfield, this present Sunday.

She removes not to Ashridge these ten or twelve days yet, for the unreadiness of things there; but then, God willing, she will be there. Your own assured bounden ever, THOMAS PARRY.

A week later came a further communication from Elizabeth's cofferer, which, though unimportant in itself, is interesting as illustrating the abuse of Church patronage in those days. Strype quotes a letter from the reformer Bucer, who, in describing the state of religion in England in 1550, writes, "That which weighed with him most was that the sinews of Anti-Christ bore such sway," meaning, says Strype, "that church-robbers did still hold and spoil the chief parish churches, and that commonly one man had four, or six of them, or more; and that many patrons bestowed two or three upon their stewards, or huntsmen, and that upon condition that a good portion of the profits should be reserved to themselves." In Elizabeth's case it was her Yeoman of the Robes, who would be obliged to provide a curate to do the work, probably at a starvation salary. Is it to be wondered at that the curates were as often as not worthless, and, as Strype has it, "scandalous for their lives"? The people would ordinarily say—the same authority informs us—"our curate is naught, an asse-head, a dodipot, a lack-latin, and can do nothing. Shall I pay him tithe that doth no good, and none can do?"

THOMAS PARRY TO WILLIAM CECIL.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office MSS.]

ASHRIDGE, *September* 22, 1550.

Sir,—Her Grace hath commanded me to write unto you her most hearty commendations. And being desired and sued unto by one of her old servants, John Renyon, the Yeoman of her Grace's Robes, for his preferment to the parsonage of East Harptree, in the county of Somerset, being now in your hands and disposition, to send unto you for

the same; her Grace hath likewise, upon his said suit, commanded me to say unto you, that if it may please you for her Grace's sake to let him be your tenant, doing unto you therefore as another will, and as shall appertain, her Grace will upon your desire, in case like, gratify the same to your like contentation, whereof her Grace prayeth you to answer her by your letters. And herewith her Grace hath also sent you the man, to be considered of according to her suit, with a most hearty farewell.

Her Grace hath been long troubled with rheums, but now, thanks be [to] the Lord! meetly well again, and shortly ye shall hear from her Grace again. Outred is well occupied in her business, who, I assure [you], doth very honestly. Thus leave I to trouble you, as he that is assuredly yours, and most glad to hear of your good calling; wherein I pray the Lord as well to speed you as ever He hath done any. To Him I commit you! Your own assured to command,
THOMAS PARRY.

Northumberland was anxious to strengthen his hands by marrying Elizabeth to some Protestant Prince who would relieve him of her embarrassing presence in England, without being strong enough to insist upon her rights to the throne. His agents scoured the Continent with this object in view, and added the following suitors to her list, but all, for one reason or another, proved unsuccessful:

(1) The son of the Duke of Ferrara, "one of the goodliest young men of all Italy," to quote the words of Sir Anthony Guidotti, in the Calendar of State Papers (Foreign). But as the recommendation came in the first place from the Duke of Guise, Northumberland would have nothing to do with it.

(2) The son of the Duke of Florence (Medici), who, though only eleven years old, while Elizabeth was eighteen, might—suggests the same agent, Sir Anthony Guidotti—answer the purpose because "it were an easy matter to be concluded without an excessive dote." These negotiations went no farther.

(3) The second son of Hans Frederick of Saxony, "who is the goodlier gentleman of the two sons," says Sir Richard Morysine, English Envoy in Antwerp, in a private letter to Cecil, adding that the Prince "would, if he durst, bear a great affection towards the Lady Elizabeth's Grace." A more likely proposal had there been time to consider it properly.

(4) Francesco d'Este, the brother of the Duke of Ferrara, who came forward shortly before the death of Edward VI., when the downfall of Northumberland and the triumph of Mary swept aside—for the time being at least—all Protestant candidates for Elizabeth's hand.

Some time during Edward's last illness—the precise date is uncertain—Elizabeth sent him the following sisterly letter, but Northumberland took good care that her message never reached its destination. It is interesting as showing that Elizabeth had made an attempt to visit her brother in London, but had been intercepted halfway there, and sent back:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO KING EDWARD VI.

[Ellis's "*Original Letters.*" From the Harleian MSS.]

Like as a shipman in stormy weather plucks down the sails tarrying for better wind, so did I, most noble King, in my unfortunate chance on Thursday, pluck down the high sails of my joy and comfort, and do trust one day that, as troublesome waves have repulsed me backward, so a gentle wind will bring me forward to my haven. Two chief occasions moved me much and grieved me greatly, the one for that I doubted your Majesty's health—the other, because for all my long tarrying I went without that I came for. Of the first I am relieved in a part, both that I understood of your health, and also that your Majesty's lodging is far from my lord Marquis's chamber. Of my other grief I am not eased, but the best is that whatsoever other folks will suspect, I intend not to fear your Grace's good will, which as I know that I never deserved to forfeit, so I trust will still stick by me. For

if your Grace's advice that I should return (whose will is a commandment) had not been, I would not have made the half of my way the end of my journey. And thus, as one desirous to hear of your Majesty's health, though unfortunate to see it, I shall pray God for ever to preserve you. From Hatfield, this present Saturday. Your Majesty's humble sister to commandment, ELIZABETH.

Northumberland played his cards so well at this time that he not only succeeded in estranging the dying King from his sisters, but in persuading him that he owed it to his conscience to alter the succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey, lately married to Northumberland's fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley. This step was taken in spite of the fact that Henry VIII., before his death, had restored the rights of both his daughters. We have it on Leti's authority, which must be taken for what it is worth, that Mary and Elizabeth protested, verbally as well as in writing, against this injustice. Here is the indignant expostulation which Leti assures us was sent by Elizabeth:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

1553.

My lord Duke,—Some days ago my sister and I were informed of the intrigue which your ambition has led you to undertake so that you may exclude us both from the succession to the crown. We did not wish to give faith to the reports which reached us because we believed that a man of your character, of whom we had such a high opinion, and who had shown when he first entered upon the government of the country so much eagerness and zeal for the maintenance of justice, must be incapable of committing the greatest of all injustices, namely, that of taking advantage of the inexperience, innocence, and weakness of a young King to induce him, or rather to

force him, by flimsy pretexts and baseless suspicions, to exclude in his will from the royal succession the legitimate heirs of the kingdom, who had been duly recognized as such by the will of the King, our father, and by Act of Parliament. . . . Why do you wish to inflict this injustice upon us? So that you may fill our places with strangers, members of another family, because they happen to be your relations. What a good reputation your ambition will lay upon our brother and ruler, should God see fit to remove him! The position which you have gained for yourself in the world scarcely gives you sufficient authority to exclude from the succession to the crown the lawful daughters of Henry, our father, and the sisters of the King Edward, in order to make way for the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, whose only merit lies in the fact that he had the honour of marrying one of our aunts.[1] What fame will you acquire among foreign nations when it is known that your ambition has violated the most sacred laws in the kingdom, and broken the most legitimate claims of the succession to the crown? We console ourselves, however, with the hope that God, who always punishes the wrong-doer, and protects the innocent, will restore the health of the King, our brother, and give him time to recognize the trick which has been played upon him and the bad advice he has received. And I hope that you also may have time in which to repent of your plots against the fair fame of the King, the tranquility of the kingdom, the laws of the State, the rights of the crown, and our own welfare. If this should not be God's will, we hope that He, being the Protector of justice, will be our defender, and free us from the bondage in which your ambition has placed us; and that you, the Parliament, and the judges, who ought

[1] Lady Jane Grey was in fact the granddaughter of the Duke of Suffolk who had married Elizabeth's aunt, Mary Tudor. Lady Jane's mother, the heiress of the family of Suffolk, had married the Marquess of Dorset, who afterwards became Duke of Suffolk. But terms of relationship were used very vaguely.

rather to uphold the law and the rights of the crown, will be trampled under foot. I remain, meanwhile, in the condition in which you have placed me. ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth, according to most accounts, had one of her real or feigned attacks of illness at the hour of Northumberland's temporary success, and would have nothing to do with the bribe of money and lands which he is said to have offered her as the price of her hereditary claims. The offer was made when his commissioners brought the belated news of the King's death and the declaration of Lady Jane's accession. According to Camden, Elizabeth told them "that they must first make their agreement with her elder sister, during whose lifetime she had no claim, or title, to resign." As soon as Mary had crushed the usurper, Elizabeth hastened to display her loyalty to the new rule, and rode by the Queen's side at her triumphal entry into London on August 3, 1553. It was a fine opportunity for Elizabeth—and one which she did not miss—to display her fresh beauty and graceful bearing to the best advantage in contrast to the faded charms of her sister, though the Emperor's Ambassador, Simon Renard, says that the excitement of the occasion lent to Mary's hard features an expression almost of beauty. The crowds who were ready to welcome the new Queen with shouts of joy on her accession—welcoming in her, to quote Professor Pollard, "their deliverer from the violence and iniquity of Northumberland's rule"—were not slow to turn their thoughts to Elizabeth when Mary restored the Catholic ritual. Though England as a whole had remained true to the old religion, London was a hotbed of Protestantism, and among the citizens Elizabeth increased her popularity tenfold by refusing—at least for a time—to attend Mass with Mary and the rest of the Court. It is true that Elizabeth never meant to be numbered among the martyrs, but she gained her point in holding out until her only alternative seemed to be the Tower. One of the letters from the Imperial Ambassadors to Charles V., preserved among the Record Office transcripts, gives a striking picture of her submission to the Queen:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[*Record Office Transcripts.*]

LONDON, *September* 9, 1553.

We have been informed that last Thursday Madame Elizabeth acknowledged the error of her opinions regarding the new religion. We have also heard, on good authority, that this has not been brought about without some trouble. It is said that she noticed the Queen's coldness towards her, and believing that it was caused by her obstinacy in religious matters, she entreated the said Queen to give her a special audience, which the Queen refused for two days, but afterwards granted. This was held in a gallery, where there is a door, or a half door, by which entered the Queen, who was accompanied by a lady-in-waiting, and the Lady Elizabeth, who also had her attendant. At the hour appointed for the audience the Princess approached the Queen and threw herself on her knees before her, weeping, and saying that she was well aware that she no longer possessed the Queen's affection, and she felt sure that it was for some other reason than religion, as in that she was excusable, because she had been educated in it, and had never even heard the doctrines of the old faith. She then entreated the Queen to let her have books controverting the religion which she has always been taught, so that she might see if the reading would enable her to overcome her scruples, and also to allow some learned man to instruct her as to the truth. All this was granted to her by the Queen, who was rejoiced to find so much devotion in her sister. Since then the Princess has been convinced, and was at Mass on the Feast of the Nativity of our Lady, from which, however, she wished to excuse herself, saying that she was ill; and she complained loudly on the way, keeping up a pretence of illness. We have heard little on good authority, but it is said by some who are here that she has been forced to take this step, as if she had not embraced the old religion the Queen would not have allowed her to

MARY I.

(From a portrait by Lucas de Heere in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries.)

remain at Court. However it may be, this abjuration, even though it be only feigned, will serve as a good example, and help to further the cause of religion.

It is interesting to compare this with the account presented to Henry II. by his astute Ambassador, M. Antoine de Noailles, who was already busy with his schemes to make use of Elizabeth and the Protestants for the ultimate benefit of Mary Queen of Scots, now betrothed to the Dauphin of France. Therein lay a graver danger to England for the moment than the growth of Spanish influence, for the French had greatly increased their power in England under Northumberland, whose shameful peace with France and Scotland in 1550 had involved the surrender of Boulogne and such Scottish fortresses as remained in English possession, as well as the reduction of the garrison of Calais. France, indeed, with Mary Stuart in her hands, and Scotland little more than a French province, had been nearer than she had ever been to taking her full revenge for the humiliation under which she had suffered for centuries in seeing the English monarchs quartering the arms and assuming the style of Kings of France. The accession of Mary Tudor, with the powerful backing of Charles V., had at least safeguarded England against this growing danger.

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

LONDON, *September* 22, 1553.

. . . I must not forget to tell you, Sire, that Madame Elizabeth, after much solicitation, has been compelled to hear the Mass with the Queen, her sister. Nevertheless, everyone believes that she is acting rather from fear of danger and peril from those around her than from real devotion; for, since this, the Queen, in order to keep her under control, has bestowed upon her many favours, thinking that this will greatly serve to the establishment of religion, and the declaration of Parliament in its favour, which will not come to pass, it is easy to believe, without great

difficulty. This has been told me by one of those who should help in it, and who has not been afraid to tell me that between this and then there will be a great many placards and other things written, scattered abroad, and published against the intention and wish of this Queen. He tells me, moreover, that he does not love this said lady, being assured that the crown does not belong to her, but most certainly to the Queen of Scotland, your daughter, for whom he promises to do many things, both in this kingdom and in Ireland; as before long, I hope, Sire, to send you word with all particulars, and, in the meantime, I will not forget to talk with him and several other Englishmen whom he is to present to me, and who come to confer by a door behind a park, which is very convenient for this lodging, and secret for such matters. I assure you, Sire, that I am unable to declare to you the large number of men who are ill-content with what is happening in this country; some for religion, others because they have not received the reward which they consider they have deserved; and there is also the reason that all those who have been in arms against this Queen are compelled to pay heavy fines, from which she will draw, as I have written to you, a large sum of money, which she says she wishes to employ for the improvement of the currency.

Meantime, Elizabeth, having attended her first Mass, appears to have been by no means anxious to repeat the experience; and on the following Sunday was again absent. The Emperor's Ambassadors made matters as uncomfortable for her as they could:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[*Record Office Transcripts.*]

LONDON, *September* 23, 1553.

. . . We have repeated to her [the Queen] all that we have said and written, and have persuaded her, so far as we were able, that she should establish her authority by severe measures. We have also

reminded her of what she has told us regarding the conspiracies which are continually being raised against her, and of all that we ourselves have heard of the heretics and rebels who are striving to thwart her plans. We have warned her that these intrigues are largely shared by Madame Elizabeth, on whom all their hopes are built; and that, in all truth, if anything happened to the Queen, and the Lady Elizabeth were raised to the crown, the kingdom would become quite heretic, and the Catholics would be persecuted. The Queen replied that she did not trust the Princess, but a few days ago she spoke to her and asked her if she firmly believed all that the Catholics held, especially with regard to the Holy Sacrament, and telling her that she was assured that her attendance at Mass was merely a pretence, made through deceit or timidity. She also entreated Madame Elizabeth to be quite open with her, and to speak freely of all that was on her conscience; to which the Princess replied that she was resolved to declare publicly that in going to Mass, as in all else that she had done, she had only obeyed the voice of her conscience; and that she had acted freely, without fear, deceit, or pretence. We have since been told, however, that the said Lady Elizabeth is very timid, and that while she was speaking with the Queen she trembled very much. Nevertheless, Sire, we interpret her reply and her trembling quite differently, and maintain that she appears quite composed and proud. We are also constantly hearing of the arrival of strangers and preachers who are heretics, (sometimes we even see them) and of whose departure there is no mention, unless it be to some other dwelling at hand. They say among themselves that the Papists are having their day, but that it will not last, and that the Lady Elizabeth will provide for them. And further, only a fortnight ago, the Captain Mirtez, or another of her servants, gave two dagger thrusts to a peasant, in a village near here, because he wished that he could hear Mass; for which act the said Mirtez has been

imprisoned. He was among the first to whom the Queen had granted a pardon after her accession, being one of the four hundred men who took part in the rebellion of the late Duke of Northumberland against the Lady Queen.

It was Antoine de Noailles's part to fill a position in regard to Elizabeth somewhat analogous to that which Simon Renard was destined to occupy in regard to Mary—each ostensibly acting for the sole good of the Queen or Princess whose cause he had espoused, but in reality much more concerned in bringing England under the influence of his own country. Nothing is more instructive in this connexion than to follow their different moves on the diplomatic chessboard as revealed in their published and unpublished correspondence. An instance of how the French and Imperial Ambassadors watched each other's movements is given in Renard's account of the coronation of Mary, contained in the Record Office transcripts, from which we print the following translation:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[*Record Office Transcripts.*]

LONDON, *October* 5, 1553.

. . . We noticed from the demeanour of the Lady Elizabeth that she appeared to be conspiring with the French ambassador. She saluted him with much attention every time she passed him, while she only made a pretence of noticing us, as she considers that we are opposed to her. As a confirmation of this we hear that the said ambassador said to the Lady Elizabeth, in reply to her complaint that she was weary of the crown which she wore, that she must have patience, and that soon this crown would bring her a better one.

A translation from Noailles comes next in which he refers to the Bill now introduced by the Queen in order to repeal the Acts of Parliament by which Henry VIII. had pronounced

Mary illegitimate. Nothing was mentioned about Henry's other daughter, but one obvious effect of the Bill was to bastardise the younger sister. No wonder the proud spirit of Elizabeth was roused, though there is little doubt that she would have done the same thing herself had she been in Mary's position :

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE QUEEN-DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

LONDON, *October* 25, 1553.

Madame, since I last wrote to you, three of the Emperor's ambassadors have left this place, and the fourth, who is the Lieutenant de Mons, remains here in residence. A week ago yesterday the Queen made a great feast at which they were all four present, together with Madame Elizabeth, her sister, and the Countess of Lennox,[1] her cousin. It is said that the ambassadors have gone away well satisfied with favours and presents. One Juan de Mendoza is now expected in this place, and, representing the Prince of Spain, is to visit this said Queen, as all the other princes of his line have done. It was told me this evening that he had already come two days ago. The only decrees Parliament has made up to the present are for the restitution of the rank and of the honour of my lord of Courtenay, and of the Marchioness, his mother; the raising and taking away of the penalty of treason and præmunire,[2] and of an infinity of other precedent decrees in the time of former kings, all of which would be too long to tell you. But the only object in all this is to make it more easy to declare immediately that the divorce of Queen Catherine, mother of this Lady Queen, was null and

[1] Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald Douglas by Margaret of England, sister of Henry VIII. Margaret married Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, in 1554, and in the following year became the mother of Lord Darnley.

[2] The law originally introduced for the purpose of resisting papal encroachments on the rights of the Crown.

void, and to place the kingdom once more in obedience to the Church, this said Lady no longer wishing to bear the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England. I can assure you, nevertheless, Madame, that this decree, taking away the penalties of other precedents, has not been passed without great difficulty, as it is known what the consequences will be for the rights of the Church and for religion. Madame Elizabeth is very discontented, and has asked permission to withdraw from this Court, and wishes to leave on Monday; but I think the Queen will make her defer her departure, and, indeed, from what I can hear, will inform her attendants that she is to be told from time to time what her sister does, hoping by this means to prevent the occurrence of sedition. Madame, I entreat you very humbly [to believe] that I do not pledge my faith beyond whatever I tell you now concerning the things of which you have written to me, or of what I may tell you hereafter; so that I may more easily and more agreeably continue here in the King's service and in yours, and give you intelligence of what I shall consider to be worthy.

CHAPTER IV

TREASON AND PLOT (1553—1554)

Mary and the proposed English marriage—Opposition to Philip of Spain—The machinations of Noailles—Elizabeth's Letter to Lady Knollys—Love Letters of Elizabeth and Courtenay—Mary permits Elizabeth to withdraw to Ashridge—The Wyatt Revolt—Elizabeth requested to return to London—Her convenient sickness—The Rebellion crushed—Commissioners sent to bring Elizabeth to Court—Her journey to Westminster—Committed to the Tower—Her Letter to Mary—The Emperor's Ambassadors urge her Execution—Proposal to marry her to Emmanuel Philibert—Gardiner's alleged attempt to have Elizabeth executed—Her removal to Woodstock.

It was not so much the religious as the matrimonial question which was to cost Mary most of her country's love. The great majority of Englishmen—Catholics as well as Protestants—hated foreigners with all their hearts, and many of them were eager for her marriage either with Edward Courtenay, whom she had just liberated from the Tower, or his cousin, Reginald Pole, who had been nominated papal legate to Mary on her accession, but was detained in Germany by Charles V., the Emperor fearing his influence with the Queen during the marriage negotiations with Philip. Both Courtenay and Pole had royal blood in their veins. Courtenay's unrestrained and profligate conduct after his long imprisonment in the Tower spoiled whatever chance he may have possessed in regard to Mary, and his cousin, Cardinal Pole, not only had no wish for matrimony himself, but openly expressed his opinion that it would be better for Mary, at her age, to remain single also, and leave the question of the succession to take care of itself. Mary, however, placed herself in the Emperor's hands, and by the end of October had pledged herself to marry his son Philip. The correspondence of the rival Ambassadors now translated shows how Noailles, furious at the prospect of England becoming a dependency of Spain, did his best to fan the spark of discontent into a blaze of rebellion :

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[*Record Office Transcripts.*]

LONDON, *November* 29, 1553.

. . . With regard to the conspiracies, it is reported, that last Sunday the French ambassador invited Paget to dine with him alone, and on Paget excusing himself because he was the only guest, the said ambassador invited the Earl of Arundel, Doctor Petre, and the Lord Privy Seal. After dinner, he proposed to Paget that a general passport should be procured for him, which would enable the holder freely to pass in Scotland all packets from the King of France and also any of his subjects, with their clothes and belongings. In short, it was to permit a person coming from France to pass through this kingdom on his way to Scotland. He said that he made the request now so that he need not trouble the Council. This has given rise to the suspicion that he wishes to pass money, either for the purpose of stirring up sedition in Ireland, or for the removal of the Lady Elizabeth. The Council does not wish to refuse, but fearing this, does not wish to grant such a passport as the ambassador desires. As to this I have said to the Lady Queen that the advice which has been given to her before serves equally well for this intrigue, and that it would be better to take Madame Elizabeth at once and confine her in the Tower than to await the outcome of these plots, the information which had been laid before her by her Councillors being sufficient ground for the imprisonment of the Princess. She should attend to their advice, as the truth of these schemes is known, as well as the Lady Elizabeth's communication with the French. The trouble which is rising in the kingdom would thus be prevented. In reply to this the Queen said that Arundel and Paget must speak with her that day, and consider what could be done. They must make the Princess understand that they were aware of the bad counsels which she was following, and that, consequently, she would be watched so that

the whole plot might be discovered, and she would then be proceeded against. The Queen then inquired of me whether, in view of the Princess's designs, it would be well for her to be banished from the kingdom, as it was impossible to trust her. The said Queen has desired me to impart this conversation to your Majesty, because she has every confidence in you, and relies upon your assistance as she has written to you, and of which I have assured her on behalf of your Majesty.

The next day Noailles wrote to the rival monarch, Henry II., in the following terms:

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

LONDON, *November* 30, 1553.

Sire, in the dispatch of the Marquis, and in the others which I afterwards sent to you on the 13th, 17th, and 24th of this month, I informed your Majesty that the marriage of this Queen with the Prince of Spain is considered here as settled. I can again confirm and assure you of this, and the news of it is now so general that everyone speaks of it quite openly, even in this Court, from the platform, and from other public places in this town. So I take it that the matter is arranged between the Emperor and the Queen, and that he will now only wait long enough to persuade the nobility, and more especially the great lords, to approve of it. I think also that the said Lady will take much trouble to win all these, the one after the other, or at least, a great number of them. What makes me believe this is that she has pardoned the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, reinstating them and according forgiveness for their offences, and granting a pardon to Madame Jane, their daughter.[1]

[1] Lady Jane Grey was not pardoned, but it is probable that she might in time have been released had it not been for her father's subsequent treason in connexion with Wyatt's rebellion. She was executed immediately after the collapse of that affair in the following year.

You may, however, assure yourself, Sire, that this Lady [Queen Mary] has become so bold, and has so much assurance since the settlement of her marriage, which I think was already done when she laid the matter before the Parliament, that she now commands more weight and authority than she has ever done before; making little account of Madame Elizabeth, her sister, whom she used to keep always at her side at the great assemblies with much honour and favour; but now the Princess has sometimes to give place to the Countess of Lennox, who is called Madame Margaret here, and to Madame Frances, who is the Duchess of Suffolk. The Princess is in so much disfavour that there is not one lady in this Court who dares to visit her in her chamber, or even to speak to her without the permission of the Queen. Nevertheless the Princess is so little dismayed by this, that every day she has had all the young gentlemen of the Court to visit her, and takes pains to talk with them, expecting (so I understand) to gain her end in a few days, which is, in short, that she may obtain her dismissal and go to her own house, where she lived formerly. But I doubt that such permission will be given her, unless with some condition, such as that there shall be men in her suite, who will watch her closely, and, possibly, a large guard for the same object.

If we could be sure of the genuineness of the two love letters of Elizabeth and Courtenay which we now translate from Leti's Life, we should be able better to understand Elizabeth's part in the approaching storm. Unfortunately there is nothing to corroborate them in the accepted histories of the time. We give them now because we cannot find them translated in any other existing book on the subject. Courtenay, who had grown up in the Tower—a prisoner since his father, Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter and Earl of Devonshire, had been attainted and beheaded in 1538—was now about twenty-seven, handsome in appearance and ambitious in ideas; but his head appears to have been turned

completely with his new-found freedom and the restoration of his rank as Earl of Devonshire. Disappointed in his hope of marrying Queen Mary, he fell an easy prey to the suggestions of Noailles and the English conspirators that he should aspire to the hand of Elizabeth, and share the throne with her in place of Mary and her cousin Philip of Spain. The curious thing is that Mary, far from feeling any jealousy regarding Courtenay and Elizabeth, as more than one contemporary writer seems to have imagined, had herself discussed such a match with Simon Renard, as one way of establishing peace in her kingdom before her own marriage with Philip:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO EDWARD COURTENAY.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

1553.

My Lord,—I do not doubt that you love me, but I am afraid that your love may be harmful to you and will bring you enemies. This is the reason which forces me to hide my affection for you and gives me little hope; but I know that such a generous heart as yours is incapable of distrust, and that jealousy only gives a new charm to love. I am sure that when you reflect upon the risk which you run of losing a crown, or, at the least, a very powerful position in the kingdom, because of your unwillingness to obey the Queen's wishes and accept her kindness—only for the pleasure of indulging the unhappy passion which inspires you for one who wishes that her power and her fortunes were as great as her love for you, so that she might be enabled to make you happy—I feel certain, as I have said, that if you really consider your own interests, you will wish to be as far from me as I long to be near you. The high opinion which I have of your abilities assures me of this. You know well, my dear Lord, that Love often blinds Reason, only to overthrow those who follow him into a sea of trouble; and then he steals away, leaving them to struggle out as best they can. Give a little

thought to these warnings, which come from a heart which only desires your welfare; for it is certain that I would rather sacrifice everything than do you any injury. Do me the justice to believe that my love for you is greater than yours can possibly be for me, and that I long to see you, so that you may hear from my own lips that which prudence forbids me to write. ELIZABETH.

EDWARD COURTENAY TO PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

1553.

Madame,—I wish I had two hearts, so that one might be sacrificed to your good advice. But as I have only one destiny, which is glorified by my love for you, it would be death to me to obey your counsel. I implore you to believe, my dear Princess, that no fortune or crown can ever shake my love for you, and that all the opposition and violence in the world shall never tear from my heart the resolution which I have made to devote my life to your service. I know that I am taking a great liberty in daring to desire, without any merits of my own, the greatest happiness the world has to give, which is to love the most beautiful and most accomplished princess in the universe. But I am rejoiced to learn, Madame, that you know that Love is blind, because I am encouraged to hope thereby that you will not be surprised at the rashness of a heart which dares to offer its love to a mistress who is worthy of all crowns and kingdoms. I gratify my pride by reflecting incessantly upon your talents, and my hopes are strengthened by the thought that I am incapable of loving any other, and that I desire nothing in the world except to be always at your side. I entreat you to pardon this great boldness in one who cannot live without your love, and will die your faithful servant, COURTENAY.

Mary, when convinced of the conspiracy in favour of Elizabeth and Courtenay, was ready to use harsh measures

towards the sister who seemed destined always to be a thorn in her side, but Renard, anxious to catch Elizabeth in an act which would enable them to get rid of her altogether, prevailed upon the Queen to disguise her anger. Elizabeth, as he said, would run no risks if she suspected that the Queen distrusted her. So, some six days later, she was permitted to leave the Court for her house at Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, and the Queen, again acting on the advice of the Emperor's Ambassador, gave her a warm send-off, counterfeiting affection so well as to call forth the Ambassador's approbation:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[*Record Office Transcripts.*]

LONDON, *December* 8, 1553.

. . . Madame Elizabeth has left for St. Albans, which is on the road to Scotland, and is about thirty miles from this place. She took a friendly leave of the Queen, and the Queen, too, on her side has dissembled very well, and has given the Princess a very beautiful sable wrap. On the day of her departure I visited the Queen, and made use of my interview to bring to her knowledge much concerning the French plots, which she was very glad to know. Instructions have been given that the Princess's movements are to be closely watched, as much suspicion has been aroused by the French ambassador having set posts on the Scottish road, intending by this means to aid and abet the Lady Elizabeth in her schemes. Two days before she went away the Lords Arundel and Paget spoke very frankly to her, and warned her that if she refused to follow the path of duty, and persisted in concerning herself with French and heretical conspiracies, she would bitterly repent it. She replied that regarding religion it was not timidity or hypocrisy which had made her change, but rather her conscience and affection, and she would prove this by taking good churchmen with her and would send away any of her servants who were suspected, and, in short, do

all in her power to win the Queen's approval. She also endeavoured to justify herself, denying that she had had any dealings with the heretics or the French. When she was leaving she entreated the Lady Queen not to put faith in bad reports of her without hearing her defence, so that she might have an opportunity of proving her innocence, for these stories were merely lies on the part of those who desired her ruin. She also hinted that the Queen was unjust to her from a desire to avenge the injuries which had been inflicted upon her mother, the Queen Catherine, and herself, by the late Anne Boleyn, mother of the Lady Elizabeth, and because of the troubles she had had in her youth and since her accession. All of which has confirmed the Queen in her opinion that Madame Elizabeth might become a great danger, unless some remedy can be found.

What were Elizabeth's reasons for wishing to leave the Court just then? "Alarmed perhaps," according to Froude, "at finding herself the unconsenting object of dangerous schemes." Noailles, however, suggests a different object in his next letter to Henry II.:

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

LONDON, *December* 14, 1553.

. . . I must not forget to tell you that at least four days ago I was warned that this ambassador, according to his false custom, made a complaint to this Queen, some days before the departure of the Princess, that he knew most certainly that I had been three or four times at night to her apartment in order to contrive another marriage with her, according to your instructions. It was also said that the Counts Arundel and Paget went as well to converse with her, and gave her much admonition and advice. This plot was so ill-founded and so

improbable that the Lady Elizabeth easily cleared herself to the Queen; and left the said lady entreating her not to put faith in stories to the disadvantage of the Princess without giving her a hearing, and the two sisters were completely reconciled. Nevertheless, Sire, I would have you believe that this said Lady Elizabeth is very closely watched; which is not done without some reason, for I can assure you, Sire, that she is most desirous of freeing herself from control; and from what I hear it only requires that my Lord Courtenay should marry her, that they should go together to the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall. Here it can easily be believed that they would find many adherents, and they could then make a strong claim to the crown, and the Emperor and Prince of Spain would find it difficult to suppress this rising. But the misfortune is that the said Courtenay is of such a fearful and timid disposition that he dare not make the venture. In addition to this he has discovered that there are spies who are near her person, and his friends fear that there are many others who are closely watching all that he does. There are many, of whom I know, who would be ready to give him encouragement and all help in carrying out some plan to his advantage, and I do not see what should hinder him, except his weakness, faint-heartedness and timidity, since the disgrace of the Princess.

Among the Protestant Englishmen who withdrew to Germany at this time was Sir Francis Knollys, who became a privy councillor on Elizabeth's accession four years later, and subsequently treasurer of the royal household. His wife, to whom Elizabeth wrote the following sententious letter on the eve of their departure for the Continent, was the Princess's cousin, being the daughter of Anne Boleyn's elder sister Mary by her first husband, William Carey. Lady Knollys became a personal attendant of Elizabeth when Queen, as well as a close friend:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO LADY KNOLLYS.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" From the Lansdowne MSS.]

1553.

Relieve your sorrow for your far journey with joy of your short return, and think this pilgrimage rather a proof of your friends, than a leaving of your country. The length of time, and distance of place, separates not the love of friends, nor deprives not the shew of good-will. An old saying, when *bale* is lowest *boot* is nearest: when your need shall be most you shall find my friendship greatest. Let others promise, and I will do, in words not more, in deeds as much. My power but small, my love as great as them whose gifts may tell their friendship's tale, let will supply all other want, and oft sending take the lieu of often sights. Your messengers shall not return empty, nor yet your desires unaccomplished. Lethe's flood hath here no course, good memory hath greatest stream. And, to conclude, a word that hardly I can say, I am driven by need to write, farewell, it is which in the sense one way I wish, the other way I grieve. Your loving cousin and ready friend, COR ROTTO.

There is no definite proof that Elizabeth played any active part in the insurrection which came to a head at the beginning of 1554. It was hoped that the Venetian State Papers would throw some light on this complicated chapter of Elizabeth's history, but we are still without documentary proof of her guilt. As soon as Sir Thomas Wyatt took up arms in the middle of January—forced into premature action by the confession of the craven-hearted Courtenay—he wrote to Elizabeth at Ashridge, urging her to retire to her Castle of Donnington, in order to be at a greater distance from London. The letter was intercepted on behalf of the Queen, but Elizabeth, who had received similar advice from Sir James Croft, was not to be drawn thus openly into the meshes of the plot. She stayed on at Ashridge to await

developments, which came on January 26 in the form of a letter summoning her to Court:

QUEEN MARY TO THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

[Aikin's "*Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.*"]

January 26, 1554.

Right dear and entirely beloved sister, we greet you well: And whereas certain evil-disposed persons, minding more the satisfaction of their own malicious and seditious minds than their duty of allegiance towards us, have of late foully spread divers lewd and untrue rumours; and by that means and other devilish practices do travail to induce our good and loving subjects to an unnatural rebellion against God, us, and the tranquillity of our realm: We, tendering the surety of your person, which might chance to be in some peril if any sudden tumult should arise where you now be, or about Donnington, whither, as we understand, you are minded shortly to remove, do therefore think expedient you should put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed, to make your repair hither to us. Which we pray you fail not to do: Assuring you, that as you may most safely remain here, so shall you be most heartily welcome to us. And of your mind herein we pray you to return answer by this messenger.

Given under our signet at our manor of St. James's the 26th of January in the 1st year of our reign. Your loving sister, MARY, the Queen.

Elizabeth mistrusted the tone of the letter, realising, no doubt, that Mary and her advisers were more concerned in securing her person than in saving her from improbable perils at the hands of the rebels. So she called one of her ever-ready illnesses to her rescue, and sent a verbal message to the Queen, expressing her horror at the revolt, and her readiness to obey the summons as soon as she had recovered from her sickness. Elizabeth's governors also wrote to the Lord Chancellor, lest their "gentleness towards their

mistress," as Strype has it, "might be interpreted in the worst sense." The names of her governors at this time are unknown, but as the original draft of the letter—now in the British Museum—is in Sir Thomas Pope's name, it is evident that he then held some post in her household at this time. Subsequently, as will be seen, he became her governor at Hatfield:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH'S GOVERNORS TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

[Strype's "*Ecclesiastical Memorials.*"]

ASHRIDGE, *January*, 1554.

It may please your good Lordship; That albeit we attend on my Lady Elizabeth's Grace our mistress, in hope of her amendment to repair towards the Queen's Highness, whereof we have as yet no apparent likelihood of health; yet considering this dangerous world, the perilous attempts and the naughty endeavours of the rebels, which we daily hear of against the Queen's Highness, our Sovereign Lady, we do not forget our most bounden duty, nor yet our readiness in word and deed to serve her Highness by all the ways and means that may stand in us, both from her Grace our Mistress, and of our own parts also. Which thing, although our Lady's Grace our said Mistress hath tofore this signified unto the Queen's Highness, on her behalf, by message, it might nevertheless seem to your good Lordship, and the Lords of the Council, some negligence that we did not make you also privy hereunto. We have therefore thought it our duties to declare this unto your Lordship, most humbly beseeching the same to prescribe unto us the Queen's pleasure, and your's herein, or in anything else. And we, according to our most bounden duties, shall not fail to perform the same always to the uttermost of our lives. Our Lord knoweth it, to whose blessed tuition we commit you.

Mary had her hands too full in her efforts to save her crown to do anything further in regard to Elizabeth until

February 10. Elizabeth meantime took the precaution of fortifying her house, and gathering within it an armed force for its defence. Her enemies, of course, were quick to say that this was proof positive of her guilt, but Elizabeth was hardly likely to be so foolish as openly to defy the Queen in this way. Her explanation of her armaments would probably have been that they were merely intended as a precaution against a possible attack by the father of Lady Jane Grey, the Duke of Suffolk, who had joined in the revolt against the Spanish marriage, and was then encamped with his little force in the neighbourhood of Ashridge. Suffolk had not long been pardoned by Mary for his share in the Duke of Northumberland's plot, and his plea for mercy after his ignominious capture on the present occasion met with no success :

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[*Record Office Transcripts.*]

LONDON, *February* 8, 1554.

. . . The Duke of Suffolk has written his confession and signed it with his own hand ; in which he speaks of grief at his arrest and imprisonment ; the little attention the Council gave him ; and that the plots of Carew and Croft, who, with many other conspirators, had planned to make Madame Elizabeth queen, had made him forget his duty to the said Queen and throw in his lot with the rebels. Even his brother Thomas had added his persuasions to this end. He had been unwilling to join them, and implores the Queen to show him mercy, not justice. The said Thomas, who has also been taken prisoner, has written similar letters to the Queen begging for mercy, but she is determined to requite this affair with the justice which it demands, since her clemency and mercy have been so abused, and has ordered their immediate execution.

Mary meantime had come into possession of further intercepted correspondence—including Wyatt's letter informing Elizabeth of his entry into Southwark, and Noailles' despatches to the French King enclosing a copy of a letter

which Elizabeth had written to the Queen in answer to one sent by Mary on the subject of her approaching marriage—which, on the face of it, seemed to be fair proof that the Princess was secretly supporting the outbreak. Having, largely by her own resolution and pluck, crushed her open adversaries, and Wyatt having denounced both Elizabeth and Courtenay as conspirators in the plot—though in his last words on the scaffold, according to the accepted account, he completely exonerated them [1]—Mary changed her softly-worded invitation of January 26 to a peremptory order that Elizabeth was forthwith to be brought to Court. It is to Mary's credit that the head of the three commissioners chosen to execute this order was Elizabeth's own kinsman, Lord William Howard, uncle of Anne Boleyn; that she also sent her own litter for her sister's personal comfort, and that one of the two doctors who had been dispatched to discover whether Elizabeth was in a fit condition to travel or not was a physician who had known the Princess from childhood. The old story to the effect that the commissioners arrived late at night, and, forcing their way into Elizabeth's bedroom, declared that she must be ready to leave with them for London at nine the next morning, has long been discredited:

LORD WILLIAM HOWARD, SIR EDWARD HASTINGS, AND SIR THOMAS CORNWALLIS TO QUEEN MARY.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office MSS.]

ASHRIDGE, *February* 11, 1554.

In our humble wise. It may please your Highness to be advertised that yesterday, immediately upon our arrival at Ashridge, we required to have access unto my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, which obtained, we delivered unto her your Highness's letter; and I, the Lord Admiral, declared the effect of your Highness's pleasure, according to the credence given to us, being before advertised of her state by your Highness's

[1] It must not be forgotten that the statement of the sheriffs that Wyatt begged Courtenay's forgiveness is in direct contradiction to that of Lord Chandos, who was also present at the farewell interview.

physicians, by whom we did perceive the state of her body to be such, that, without danger to her person, we might well proceed to require her, in your Majesty's name, (all excuses set apart), to repair to your Highness, with all convenient speed and diligence.

Whereunto we found her Grace very willing and conformable, save only "that she much feared her weakness to be so great" that she should not be able to travel, and to endure the journey without peril of life, and therefore desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength; but in conclusion, upon the persuasion, as much of us, as of her own council and servants, (whom we assure your Highness we have found very ready and forward to the accomplishment of your Highness's pleasure in this behalf,) she is resolved to remove hence to-morrow towards your Highness with such journies as by a paper, herein enclosed, your Highness shall perceive; further declaring to your Highness that her Grace much desireth, if it might stand with your Highness's pleasure, that she may have a lodging, at her coming to Court, somewhat further from the water than she had at her last being there; which your physicians, considering the state of her body, thinketh very meet, who have travailed very earnestly with her Grace both before our coming and after, in this matter.

And after her first day's journey, one of us shall await upon your Highness, to declare more at large, the whole state of our proceedings here. And even so, we shall most humbly beseech Christ long to preserve your Highness in honour, health, and the contentation of your godly heart's desire.

From Ashridge, the 11th of February, at four of the clock in the afternoon. Your Highness's most humble and bounden servants and subjects, W. Howard, Edward Hastings, T. Cornwaleys.

Simon Renard's picture of the situation at Court, and of the evident danger which threatened both Courtenay and

Elizabeth, is worth introducing here in a translation from the Record Office Transcripts:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[*Record Office Transcripts.*]

LONDON, *February* 12, 1554.

Sire, I had an interview with the Queen of England this morning, during which she informed me that the Council had recommended that Courtenay should be arrested and placed in the Tower of London, as Wyatt, without being put to the question or tortured, had accused him, and several other persons, of taking part in the rebellion. . . . The Council has also commanded that the two physicians of the said Lady Queen shall visit Madame Elizabeth to discover whether she is still ill, or rather whether she is really ill, and not merely feigning. If she is well enough the Admiral, Hastings, and Cornwallis have received orders to go and bring her by force to this Court, where she is to be kept a prisoner. Moreover, the Queen has told me that Madame of Cleves was concerned in the plot,[1] and that she has been conspiring with the Duke of Cleves to aid the Lady Elizabeth; they being the agents of the King of France, whose ambassador had an audience to-day in order to make excuses on their behalf, but I do not know yet the result of his interview. The Queen has declared to me that God has permitted this plot to be so miraculously discovered that she may be able to punish the authors of it, and confound their plans; otherwise heresy would have been established again in the kingdom, the said Lady Queen deprived of her rightful inheritance, and the country would have been under the control of the French. She is absolutely determined to execute severe and exemplary justice, and thus secure herself by force against [such attacks] in the

[1] There is no evidence in support of this statement about Anne of Cleves.

future. I replied that more than three months ago I had heard of much discontent, and had warned her that it was unwise to disregard it. Your Majesty, even with the aid of my former letters, can hardly have understood the nature of this plot. But God, in His goodness, has placed in the hands of Justice those who had conspired, with shameful ingratitude, against the person, crown, and inheritance of the said Queen. It seems to me that she ought not to spare Courtenay and the Lady Elizabeth on this occasion, as while they are alive there will always be plots to raise them to the throne, and they would be justly punished, as it is publicly known that they are guilty, and so are worthy of death. The Queen would then reign without a rival; the more so as Jane of Suffolk and her husband Guildford have both been beheaded, and the whole house of Suffolk has now rightly perished.[1] The [other] prisoners, who are all heretics, will also be executed, which will do much to further the re-establishment of religion, as it will serve to reconcile all persuasions. I thought it well at this time to make known to the Queen the substance of your Majesty's last letters, and of your intention to aid her in frustrating the schemes of France and guarding the English coasts, and that although your Majesty's finances have been exhausted by the late wars, you will, nevertheless, do all in your power to help her to follow your counsels regarding her administration, especially with reference to the said Courtenay and Madame Elizabeth. The Queen then spoke to me, at some length, of your Majesty's health and good disposition, of the time of his Highness's crossing, and said that besides the compliments which she had already expressed to your Majesty by my lord Faltre, I also am to thank you very affectionately for the kind and paternal care you have shown for her, which she will never forget, and, in the future, will do all that is possible to prove her gratitude.

[1] This was not so. Lady Jane's two younger sisters remained.

The following extract from a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury—written by Robert Swyft, or Swift, whose father was steward to the Earl of Shrewsbury, a post to which he himself succeeded—throws further light on the tragedies which were being daily enacted in the capital to which Elizabeth was coming:

ROBERT SWIFT TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

[Lodge's "*Illustrations.*" From the Talbot Papers.]

February 12, 1554.

. . . Since the taking of Wyatt, as I wrote your Lordship, the Council is continually occupied about the search of this conspiracy, which is thought to be great. The Earl of Huntingdon, furnished with 200 horsemen with staves and bows, brought through London on Saturday afternoon the Duke of Suffolk, and the Lord John,[1] his brother, and so conducted them to the Tower. The Lord Thomas was taken going towards Wales, and is coming up; and, notwithstanding that the said Duke, and Wyatt, with the most part of his captains, remain as yet in the Tower, yet there is nightly watch in the court, in harness, both day and night in London.

This day my Lady Jane was beheaded within the Tower, and the Lord Guildford, her husband, on the Tower hill, and great execution shall be done this week, as well in London as in all other places where the rebels dwelt. This day my Lord of Devonshire was sent to the Tower, with a great company of the guard. My Lady Elizabeth was sent for three days ago, but as yet she is not come, whatsoever the let is.

Noailles, in his letter of the 21st, gives a more lurid picture of the scenes in the capital. It is not difficult, in reading it, to understand Elizabeth's disinclination to hurry towards what she might reasonably have feared would prove her death:

[1] Lord John Grey, who married Mary, sister of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and only obtained his life for his share in the risings through his wife's intercession.

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO M. D'OYSEL.[1]

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

February 21, 1554.

My dear colleague,—Since your departure from this place I have written to you . . . (and I expect that you have read my letters) of everything which has happened here; so that I will take care not to repeat these matters. I must tell you, however, that since the defeat of M. Thomas Wyatt and his comrades, there is great murmuring among the people regarding the marriage of this Queen with the Prince of Spain, and I am of opinion that the said lady will not attain so quickly, or so easily, the end which she has promised herself, and, at the very least, will have great difficulty. You may be assured, my dear colleague, that the most beautiful sights which can be seen in this town, and, indeed, all over the country, are gibbets on which hang some of the bravest and most gallant men that she had in her kingdom; the prisons, also, are full of the nobility and some of the most prominent people of this country, who are brought in daily from all parts, and by their death yield up their places to others. The said Queen has resolved upon the death, not only of the subjects whom she knows to be opposed to her marriage project (these are in great numbers, and she will have much trouble with them), but she also desires to root out and ruin entirely all those who can show any claim to her crown, in order that she may more surely bring about her design in favour of the said Prince, her promised husband.[2] . . . Further, James Croft and my Lord Thomas Grey have been imprisoned in a castle in the country of Wales, and I fear they will meet with no better fate, nor even the

[1] M. d'Oysel was the French Ambassador to Scotland. Wyatt in his confessions declared that d'Oysel, who stayed in London on his way to Scotland in January, had helped Noailles to bring to a head the conspiracy against Queen Mary.

[2] That is to say, to secure to him the succession of the Crown of England.

Lady Elizabeth, who is so ill, seven or eight miles from here, that her life is despaired of. The general belief is that she has been poisoned, because she is so distended and exhausted that she is a sad sight to see. Briefly, my dear colleague, there is no other news than that every day some one is condemned to death; this one has been executed; and yet another has been taken prisoner; in like manner, I foresee by all these events and others which would take too long to write to you, that matters are in a bad way . . . for this Queen, and are in a fair way to ruin this kingdom.

Elizabeth was not hurried on that memorable journey of thirty-three miles from Ashridge to Westminster. Five days were taken in covering the distance as far as Highgate—only a few miles from the journey's end—and here Elizabeth's malady, whatever it was, developed so alarmingly that she was kept there, apparently quite helpless, for another full week. All sorts of theories were put forward as to the real nature of Elizabeth's illness: some suggested poison, others fraud; while Simon Renard went so far as to declare that she was *enceinte*. Perhaps those were nearest to the truth who believed that the delay was largely due to Lord William Howard's anxiety to allow as much as possible of the storm to blow over before his kinswoman could be called up for judgment regarding her own part in the trouble. Whatever the cause, there was no gainsaying the Tudor courage which came to Elizabeth's aid when it was time to descend from the northern heights above London and pass through the sympathetic crowds of citizens who flocked to meet her on her way to Westminster. Renard himself gives the best account of her behaviour on this occasion:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office MSS.]

February 24, 1554.

. . . The Lady Elizabeth arrived here yesterday, clad completely in white, surrounded by a great

assemblage of the servants of the Queen, besides her own people. She caused her litter to be uncovered, that she might show herself to the people. Her countenance was pale; her look proud, lofty, and superbly disdainful; an expression which she assumed to disguise the mortification she felt. Mary declined seeing her, and caused her to be accommodated in a quarter of her palace from which neither she nor her servants could go out without passing through the guards. Of her suite, only two gentlemen, six ladies, and four servants are permitted to wait on her; the rest of her train being lodged in the city of London.

The Queen is advised to send her to the Tower, since she is accused by Wyatt, named in the letters of the French ambassador, suspected by her own councillors, and it is certain that the enterprise was undertaken in her favour. And assuredly, Sire, if, now that the occasion offers, they do not punish her and Courtenay, the Queen will never be secure; for I have many misgivings that if, when she sets out for the Parliament,[1] they leave Elizabeth in the Tower, some treasonable means will be found to deliver either Courtenay or her, or both, so that the last error will be worse than the first.

Since the publication of the act which I sent your Majesty for the expulsion of strangers, the people have been in much better spirits here; and its effect in purging the kingdom will be most useful and seasonable: but your Majesty ought to take care that such as retire into your dominions should be arrested, as amongst them many French heretics will be found. . . . And thus, Sire, I pray the Creator to grant you the entire accomplishment of your noble and exalted desires. SIMON RENARD.

It was on her arrival at Whitehall that Elizabeth demanded an audience of the Queen. Mary, as Renard says, declined to see her, and the Princess was practically a prisoner when

[1] There was a proposal at this time to hold Parliament at Oxford.

conducted to the rooms set apart for her in the palace, with but twelve members of her household left in attendance. Three weeks passed, three weeks of the deepest anxiety for Elizabeth, who would be only too well aware that her enemies were plotting against her life, with the odds in their favour. Renard was all for the death both of Elizabeth and Courtenay, and Wyatt's and Croft's confessions, together with the intercepted letters, made matters extremely grave for her. But when openly charged with sharing in the conspiracy, Elizabeth denied everything, and scouted Gardiner's advice to beg the Queen's pardon, declaring that this would imply an admission of guilt, whereas she was innocent. In his letter to the Emperor on May 1, as will be seen, Renard suggests that Gardiner at one time held documentary evidence of her active interest in the plot, but that he destroyed this because it also involved young Courtenay. Failing to obtain direct proof of her sister's guilt, Mary shirked the extreme course urged by the Spaniards, reminding them of the new Act of Parliament, by which mere consent to high treason could no longer be punished by death, a sentence only legal in the event of the active participation on the part of the accused. Simon Renard, as his next letter shows, was not at all pleased at being thus balked of his prey:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office MSS.]

March 14, 1554.

Sire,—When I consider the state of things here, the condition of the Queen and this kingdom, the confusions in religion, the different parties among the privy councillors, the intestine hatred between the nobility and the people, the character of the English,—who are given so much to change, treason, and infidelity,—the natural enmity they bear to strangers, and all that from one time to another they have done against them,—which, too, is increased, especially against Spaniards, by the French

intrigues and the evil reports spread by your Majesty's own subjects; and when, on the other side, I call to mind of what consequence it is that his Highness should not be thrown into any peril, on whose safety so many kingdoms, and countries, and so many people depend and are supported; and moreover, when I look to the difficulty there is to get any pledges from the English on which we may rely;—having all this before me, I feel the burden of this charge so heavy, its importance so great, and my mind so troubled, that I know not in what way to satisfy or be conformable to the commands your Majesty has sent me by your last letters, of the 7th of this month.

The reason is, that I feel it would be rash and perilous to give a perfect assurance; and yet things are too far past now to draw back or retard the marriage, or to put them in doubt or consultation again with your Majesty. It seems to me more proper that I should inform your Majesty that, since the victory which God has been pleased to give this Queen over her enemies, they have shown a negligence more than suspicious in not pressing forward the trial of Courtenay and Madame Elizabeth. This delay, as it appears to me, is merely to see what things may turn out which may give an opportunity of saving them; and, even granting that this were against the wishes of the Queen, still she could not remedy it, because the Chancellor[1] manages the whole matter, and has put Southwell into the Tower, as the examiner and the guard over Elizabeth, a man who has always been the principal promoter of the marriage of Courtenay with this lady,—not to mention that he is one of the most ignorant persons in the kingdom, the most venal and the most prejudiced; with him is joined the Secretary Bourne, who is also attached to the faction of Courtenay. By this means he is advised

[1] Gardiner, unlike most of the Queen's councillors, was not in the pay of the Spaniards, being opposed to the Spanish marriage. Renard hated him cordially.

of all that is done or deposed against him; and already they have allowed him to be removed from his first prison to place him in a larger room, without any order from the Council.

Besides this, the Chancellor, without consulting the other councillors (except one or two), has fixed the Parliament to be held at Oxford,—actuated by a wish to impoverish the Londoners, and without any consideration whether the measure is expedient or not. In addition to all this, he had promised the Queen that all the criminal prosecutions should have been finished eight days ago, and the third was not completed till the day was fixed for the Queen's departure to Windsor, the 12th of this month; and still he persists that Her Majesty shall go to Windsor, altho' these prosecutions are still unconcluded.

While closing these letters, I have heard that the heretics here have, for the purpose of raising a mutiny among the people, placed a man and woman in one of the houses in London, bidding them give out that they heard a voice in a wall, which they knew was the voice of an angel. When they said to it, "God save Queen Mary!" it answered nothing. When they said "God save the Lady Elizabeth!" it replied "So be it." If they asked it "What is the Mass?" it replied "Idolatry." And such was the effect of this trick that, at eleven o'clock in the morning, more than seventeen thousand people were collected round the house. The Council sent thither the Admiral and Paget with the Captain of the Guard, and they have seized the man and woman that they may find out the author of the trick, which every one (even Elizabeth herself, who is stayed at Court) believes to have been got up in favour of the prisoners, with the hope of exciting the people against the Queen, raising the heretics, and troubling the kingdom.

The immediate difficulty with regard to Elizabeth was that Parliament having been summoned to meet at Oxford on April 2, instead of at Westminster—the idea being, as

Renard says, to punish the Protestant Londoners—it was necessary to keep the Princess in safety while the Queen and Court were out of town. Gardiner suggested that Elizabeth should be handed over into the custody of one of the Lords of the Council, and it was only when it was found that none of these would willingly undertake the heavy responsibilities of such an office that it was decided to send her to the Tower. As it happened, the plan to open Parliament at Oxford was rescinded, the Londoners, fearing the material losses which would result from such a course, having presented a petition of loyalty to the Queen, promising to welcome even the Spanish marriage if only she would remain in their midst. So the ceremony took place at Westminster after all; but Elizabeth, nevertheless, did not escape the Tower:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office Transcripts.]

March 22, 1554.

It was only because no one could be found upon whom to impose the task of guarding the Lady Elizabeth, that they resolved she should be sent to the Tower on Saturday last, by the Thames, and not through the streets. This, however, did not take place on that day; and the reason was, that at the hour when the tide served, she besought an interview with the Queen, affirming that this [her being sent to the Tower] was not done with her knowledge, but solely by the anger of the Chancellor. If she was denied to see the Queen, she wished to be permitted to write a letter to her: this was allowed; and when she was writing, the hour of the tide, which alone would have served for her passage below the bridge, elapsed, and they were obliged to wait till yesterday.

The Queen was much incensed with her Council for this, and told them plainly that they were not travelling on the right path; that they dared not have done such a thing in her father's lifetime, and she wished he were alive again were it but for a

month. Since this occurred, no meeting of the Council has been held; nor does the Chancellor show any inclination to be there, although he has been expressly desired to attend. . . .

On Sunday last the Councillors (moved by the premeditated intrigues of the heretics) came to a resolution that, as it was a day of devotion, the Queen should be entreated to exercise clemency, and not to shed the noble blood of England; that already the justice inflicted on the rebels amounted to cruelty; that the people ought to be forgiven; and that she ought not to follow the opinion of bloody men, meaning the Chancellor. On the instant they determined to set off to find Her Majesty and remonstrate on this subject; and they employed Paget, who is banded with them (as much I believe from hatred to the Chancellor as for his religious opinions, which are suspected to be heretical,) to carry the request to the Queen. From this, neither Petre [Secretary of State] nor the Comptroller [Sir Robert Rochester] dared to dissent. They found the Queen in her oratory after vespers; and not only took her by surprise, having given her no warning, but talked in such a way, that, against her wishes and goodwill, she pardoned six gentlemen who had been sent to Kent for execution, and who had sided with Wyatt in his rebellion. The worst is, that Paget told the Queen that they had already squandered the blood of the house of Suffolk, that he might work on her fears, and induce her to be merciful to the brothers of the Duke, who had been condemned. . . .

We may now give the third act. On last Wednesday, the Chancellor intending to be at the Council for the purpose of communicating on the subjects to be brought before Parliament, Pembroke and Paget, without leave, retired to their houses, because, as we presume, they would not consent to the points which touched upon religion, and afterwards contradict the Chancellor's intentions. Things are in such disorder that one knows not who is well-disposed or ill-disposed,

constant or inconstant, loyal or traitorous. One thing is certain, that the Chancellor has been extremely remiss in proceeding against the criminals, and most ardent and hot-headed in the affairs of religion; being so hated in this kingdom, that I have my doubts whether the detestation against him will not recoil upon the Queen. Assuredly, Sire, I have never ceased to admonish Her Majesty as to the necessity of a prompt punishment of the prisoners. I have given her Thucydides translated into French, that she may understand what advice he gives, and what kind of punishment ought to be inflicted on rebels. . . .

Now comes the celebrated letter which Elizabeth wrote when the Earl of Sussex and the Marquess of Winchester announced to her "that a barge was in readiness to convey her to the Tower, and she must prepare to go, as the tide served, which would tarry for no one." The original is beautifully written, bearing little trace of the agitation which must have filled Elizabeth's mind at the time, and with a most significant scrawl on the last page—to guard against possible additions by forgery. Written almost as a forlorn hope, without time to waste any of its meaning in the ambiguous similes in which her old master Ascham took such pride, it reveals the force of Elizabeth's character better almost than anything else that she ever wrote:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*" and Harleian MSS.]

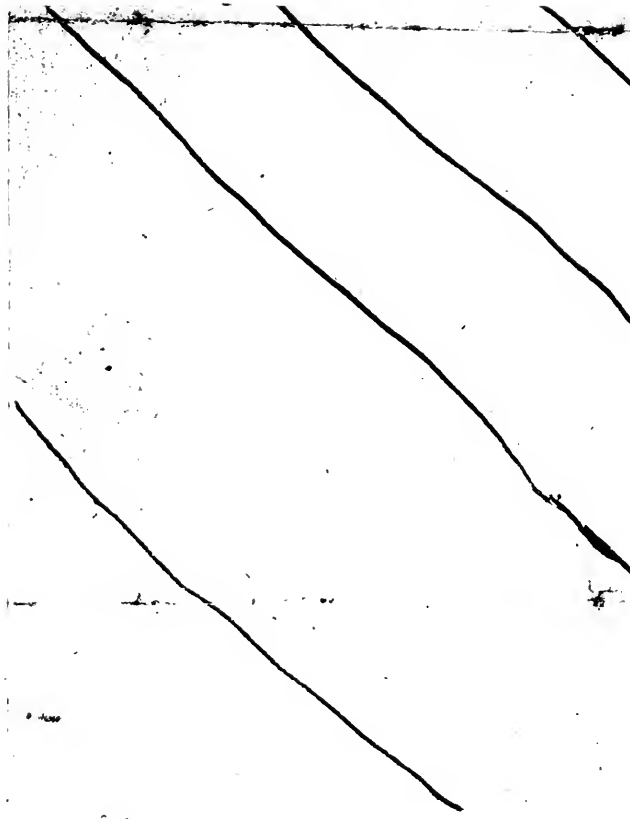
March 16, 1554.

If any ever did try this old saying "that a king's word was more than another man's oath",[1] I most humbly beseech your Majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise [2] and my last

[1] From the speech of King John of France, when he chivalrously returned to his captivity in England.

[2] The promise made at the last interview of the royal sisters, before Elizabeth retired to Ashridge.

demand that I be not condemned without answer and due proof; which it seems that now I am; for without cause proved, I am by your Council from you commanded to go into the Tower, a place more wanted for a false traitor, than a true subject; which though I know I deserve it not, yet in the face of all this realm appears that it is proved. I pray God I may die the shamefullest death that ever any died, afore I may mean any such thing; and to this present hour I protest afore God (who shall judge my truth whatsoever malice shall devise) that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person in any way, or dangerous to the State by any means. And therefore I humbly beseech your Majesty to let me answer afore yourself, and not suffer me to trust to your councillors; yea, and that afore I go to the Tower (if it be possible) if not, afore I be further condemned; howbeit, I trust assuredly your Highness will give me leave to do it afore I go, for that thus shamefully I may not be cried out on as I now shall be, yea and without cause; let conscience move your Highness to take some better way with me than to make me be condemned in all men's sight afore my known desert. Also I most humbly beseech your Highness to pardon this my boldness, which my innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindness, which I trust will not see me cast away without desert, which what it is I would desire no more of God but that you truly knew. Which thing I think and believe you shall never by report know, unless by yourself you hear. I have heard in my time of many cast away, for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and in late days I heard my Lord of Somerset say that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him he had never suffered, but persuasions were made to him so great that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the admiral lived; and that made him give his consent to his death. Though these persons are not to be compared to your Majesty,



I humbly craue but only one worde of answer frō your selfe.

If any euer did try this olde sayuge that a kinges worde was more thā
a nother mās othe I most humbly beseche your M. to verefie it in
me and to remember your last promis and my last demaunde that I
be not cōdemned without answer and aue profit wiche it semes that now I am for
that without cause prouid I am by your counsel frome you comanded
to go vnto the tower a place more wonted for a false traitor, thā a tru
subiect wiche thogth I knowe I deserue it not, yet in the face of
al this realme apires that it is prouid wiche I pray god I may dy the
namefullist deth that euer any died afore I may mene any suche
thinge and to this present hour I protest afor God who shal iuge
my trueth whatsoeuer malice (shal deuis) that I neuer practised
conciled nor co'ncid to any thinge that migth be preiudicial
to your parson any way or daungerous to the state by any
mene and therfor I hub beseche your maiestie to let
me answer afore your selfe and not suffer me to trust your
counselors yea and that afore I go to the tower (if it
be possible) if not afor I be further cōdemned howbeit
[illegible] assuredly your highnes wyl giue me leue to do [illegible]
I go for that thus shafully I may not be [illegible] out on as now I shal
be yea and without cause let cōsciens moue your [illegible] to
take some bettar way with me tha to [illegible] me be cōdemned
in al mēs sigth afor my desert knowen. Also I most humbly
beseche your highnes to pardon this my boldne wiche
innocēcy procures me to do together with hope of your natural
kindnis wiche I trust wyl not se me cast away without deser
wiche what it is I wotn desier no more of God but that [illegible]
truly knewe. Wiche thinge I thinke and beleue you sha
neuer by report knowe vnles by your [illegible] you hire I haue
harde in my time of many cast away for want of commynge
to the presence of ther prince and in late days I harde my
lorde of Somerset ay that if his brother had bine suffered
to speke with him he had neuer sufferd but the [illegible]
perswasions wer made to him so [illegible] that he was [illegible]
in belefe that he coulde not liue safely if the admiral liued
and that made him giue his consent to his dethe [illegible]
thes parsons ar not to be cōpared to your maiestie yet I
pray god [illegible] perswatiōs perswade not one sistar agai
the other and al for that the haue harde false report and
not harkene to the trueth
knowen

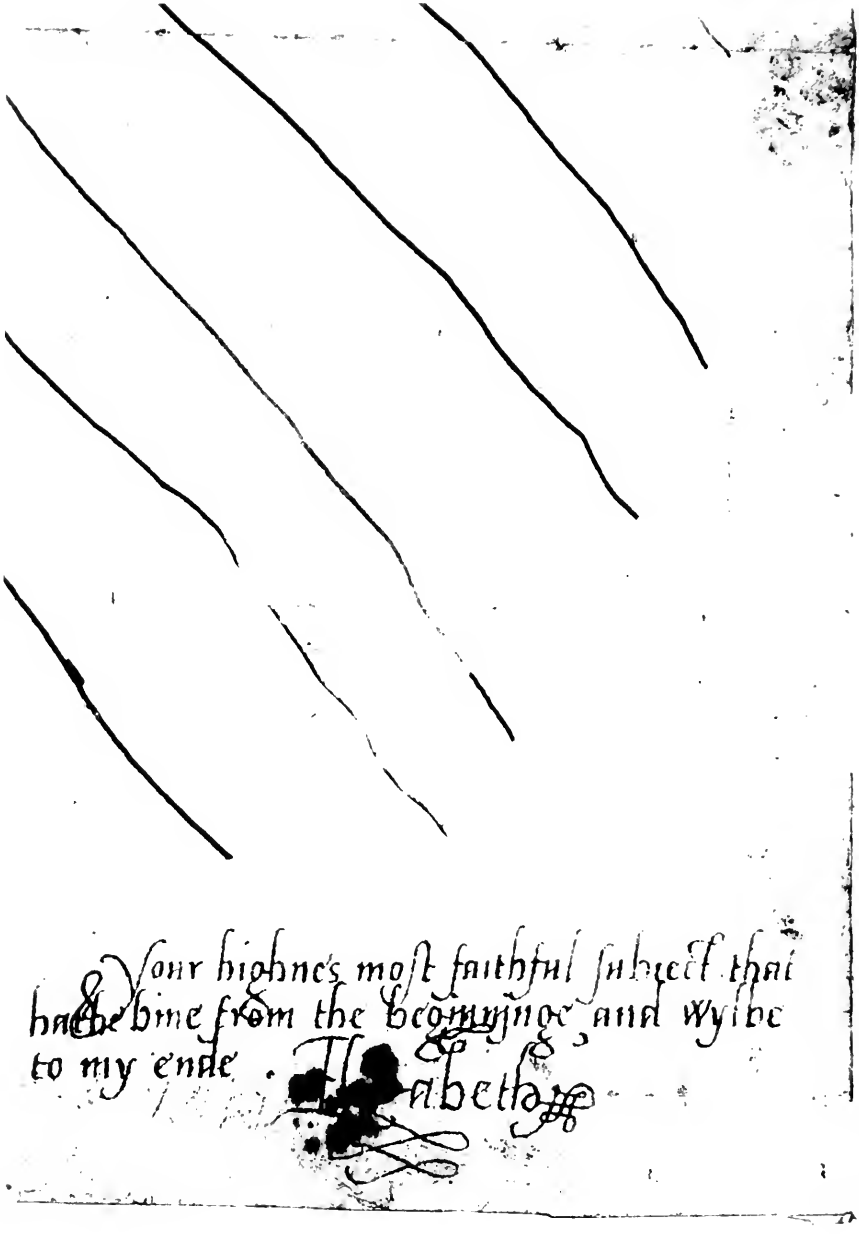
Facsimile of the [illegible] by Princess Elizabeth to Mary [illegible] the Tower of [illegible]

therfor ons agam with hublenes of my hart, bicause I am not
sufferd to bow the knees of my body I hubly craue to speke
with your higthins wiche I wolde not be so bold to desier
if I knewe not my selfe most clere as I knowe my selfe most
tru. and as for the traitor, what he migth parauentur writ
me a lettar but on my faithe I neuer receued any from him and
as for the copie of my lettar sent to the freche kinge I pray
God cōfound me eternally if euer I sent him word message
tokē or lettar by any menes, and to this ~~and~~ my truith
I wil stande in to my dethe

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

I humbly craue but only one worde
of answer frō your selfe.

Your highnes most faithful subiect that
hathe bine from the beginnige and wylbe
to my ende. Elizabeth



Your highnes most faithful subiect that
hathe bine from the beginninge and wyll be
to my ende . Elizabeth

yet I pray God that evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other, and all for that they have heard false report, and not hearken to the truth known. Therefore, once again kneeling with humbleness of my heart, because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your Highness, which I would not be so bold as to desire, if I knew not myself most clear, as I know myself most true. And as for the traitor Wyatt he might peradventure write me a letter, but on my faith I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French King, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means. And to this truth I will stand in till my death.

I humbly crave but only one word of answer from yourself.

Your Highness's most faithful subject, that hath been from the beginning, and will be to my end. ELIZABETH.

The letter availed her little, however, except the postponement of the journey from Westminster to the Tower until the following morning, which happened to fall on Palm Sunday. To guard against surprise the Council issued an order throughout London to the effect that every one should "keep the church and carry his palm"; and while the morning service was in progress Elizabeth was hurried to her prison in the Tower. She seems to have been more angry than dismayed on landing at the Traitor's Gate. Finding it useless to protest, she dashed away the cloak which one of the lords offered her—for it was raining—and, alighting from the royal barge, exclaimed, "Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before Thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friend but Thee alone!" The story of her entry into the Tower, as told by Miss Strickland from the narratives of Foxe and other contemporaries, is worth repeating:

"When she came to the gate, a number of the warders and

servants belonging to the Tower were drawn up in rank, and some of them, as she passed, knelt and 'prayed God to preserve her grace,' for which they were afterwards reprimanded. Instead of passing through the gates to which she had been thus conducted, Elizabeth seated herself on a cold damp stone, with the evident intention of not entering a prison which had proved so fatal to her race. Brydges, the Lieutenant of the Tower, said to her, 'Madam, you had best come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely.'—'Better sit here than in a worse place,' she replied; 'for God knoweth, not I, whither you will bring me.' On hearing these words, her gentleman usher burst into a passion of weeping, which she perceiving, chid him 'for his weakness in thus giving way to his feelings, and discouraging her, whom he ought rather to comfort and support, especially knowing her truth to be such that no man had any cause to weep for her.' When, however, she was inducted into the apartment appointed for her confinement, and the doors made fast upon her with locks and bolts, she was sore dismayed, but called for her book, and gathering the sorrowful remnant of her servants round her, begged them to unite with her in prayer for the Divine protection and succour. Meantime the two peers who had escorted her to the Tower, proceeded to deliver their instructions to the authorities there for her safe keeping; but when the Lord Treasurer (the Marquess of Winchester) suggested some measure of unnecessary rigour, the Earl of Sussex, being thoroughly disgusted with the unmanly conduct of his associate, sternly admonished him in these words: 'Let us take heed, my lord, that we go not beyond our commission, for she was our King's daughter, and is, we know, the prince next in blood; wherefore, let us deal with her now, that we have not, if it so happen, to answer for our dealings hereafter.'"

Elizabeth was not allowed to leave her room for a whole month after her entry into the Tower. She was compelled to hear Mass, and only the servants selected by the Council were permitted to wait upon her. Among many faithful adherents who were suffering with her in the same prison was one of her ladies, the beautiful Isabella Markham, and

her newly-married husband, John Harington[1] whose sole offence appears to have been that he had conveyed a letter to Elizabeth, years ago, for his former master, the Lord Admiral Seymour. It was this Harington who sent the following message—first printed in his son's "Nugæ Antiquæ" in 1769—to the Chancellor, and the letter bears eloquent testimony to the chivalrous devotion which Elizabeth's imprisoned followers bore towards her, as well as to her own "rare example" through those critical weeks:

JOHN HARINGTON TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR GARDINER.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth*." From Sir John Harington's "*Nugæ Antiquæ*."

THE TOWER, 1554.

My Lord,—This mine humble prayer doth come with much sorrow, for any deed of evil that I have done to your lordship; but alas! I know of none, save such duty to the Lady Elizabeth as I am bounden to pay her at all times; and if this matter breedeth in you such wrath towards her and me, I shall not, in this mine imprisonment, repent thereof. My wife is her servant, and doth but rejoice in this our misery when we look with whom we are holden in bondage. Our gracious King Henry did ever advance our family's good estate, as did his pious father aforetime; wherefore our service is in remembrance of such good kindness, albeit there needeth none other cause to render our tendance, sith the Lady Elizabeth beareth such piety and godly affection to all virtue. Consider that your lordship aforetime hath combated with much like affliction: why, then, should not our state cause you to recount the same, and breed pity to us-ward? Mine poor lady hath greater cause to wail, than we of such small degree, but her rare example affordeth comfort to us, and shameth our complaint. Why, my good lord, must I be thus annoyed for one deed of special good will to the Lady Elizabeth, in bearing a letter sent from one that had such right to give me

[1] Father of the translator of "Orlando Furioso." His first wife had been a natural daughter of Henry VIII.

his commands,[1] and to one that had such right to all mine hearty service?

May God incline you to amend all this cruelty, and ever and anon turn our prayer in good and merciful consideration. My Lord Admiral Seymour did truly win my love amidst this hard and deadly annoyance. Now may the same like pity touch your heart, and deal us better usage. His service was ever joyful, and why must this be afflicting? Mine ancient kindred have ever held their duty and liege obeisance, nor will I do them such dishonour as may blot out their worthy deeds, but will ever abide in all honesty and love. If you should give ear to my complaint, it will bind me to thankfully repay this kindness; but if not, we will continue to suffer, and rest ourselves in God, whose mercy is sure and safe, and in all true love to her [the Princess Elizabeth] who doth honour us in tender sort, and scorneth not to shed her tears with ours. I commend your lordship to God's appointment, and rest, sorely afflicted, JOHN HARINGTON.

Elizabeth had not been long in the Tower before the Lord Chancellor Gardiner and nine other members of the Council came to cross-examine her, hoping to pin her, by hook or by crook, to some definite acknowledgment of guilt. She defeated them all, as she had defeated her examiners at the time of the Seymour crisis, bearing herself so well indeed that the Earl of Arundel, who had previously been one of her most deadly enemies, not only knelt down before her to express his regret at seeing her "troubled about such vain matters," but lost his heart to her, and in course of time became one of the many suitors for her hand. It is to be feared, as Miss Strickland says, "that Elizabeth, then in the bloom of youth, and very fairly endowed by nature, exerted all her fascinations to entangle this stern pillar of her sister's throne in the perplexities of a delusive passion for herself. That she indulged the stately old earl with deceitful hopes appears evident by the tone he assumed towards her after she

[1] The Lord Admiral Seymour.

came to the throne." Meantime the other prisoners were being examined against Elizabeth—sometimes put to the torture—and her immediate danger, as will be seen from Renard's next letter, was by no means over. The same letter brings on the scene another of Elizabeth's suitors in the shape of Emmanuel Philibert, Prince of Piedmont and Duke of Savoy, the Emperor's candidate for her hand, and afterwards, as will be seen, the means by which King Philip hoped to get his troublesome sister-in-law safely out of the kingdom. The King of France had heard rumours of this scheme some months previously, for in a letter to Noailles from the Constable of France, dated December 30, 1553 ("Ambassades"), the French Ambassador is instructed to find out the truth regarding the matter, and to inform Elizabeth, in case she seemed inclined to favour the Prince, that he was poor, and had lost his hereditary territories. "It should be easy for you to do this," he writes, "as you can see more clearly how these matters progress than we can here, and to devise some means by which this project may be broken, and the Lady Elizabeth favourably disposed towards us." Noailles had thereupon insinuated to the Princess that the only object of this marriage proposal was to remove her from England and place her in the Emperor's power:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office Transcripts.]

April 3, 1554.

The prisoners have been sent new commissioners for their examination. Paget has promised me to use all necessary diligence; and it is resolved that Wyatt shall be executed this week. He has given great scandal to the Queen, for having, by the inadvertence of the Lieutenant of the Tower, communicated, at Easter, along with other prisoners, without having been first confessed, and for having uttered some strange speeches regarding religion and the sacrament. As touching Courtenay, there is matter sufficient against him to make his punishment certain; but for Elizabeth, they have not yet been able to fall

upon matter sufficiently penal according to the laws of England, because those persons with whom she was in communication have fled. Nevertheless, Her Majesty tells me that from day to day they are finding new proofs against her. That, especially, they had several witnesses who deposed as to the preparations of arms and provisions which she made for the purpose of rebelling with the others, and of maintaining herself in strength in a house of that kingdom to which she sent the supplies.

After having communicated at great length with Paget on the subject of the said Elizabeth, he told me that if they could not find proof enough to bring her to death, that he saw no surer expedient to secure her than to send her out of the kingdom to be married to a stranger; and, if they could find means to bring about her marriage to the Prince of Piedmont with ease, the Parliament and the Council would consent that the right of succession, which was in her, should go to him, in the event of the Queen having no children, for he could see no way by which at present she could be excluded or deprived of the right which she has by this Parliament. And, if this took place, both the nobility and the people, it was said, would agree to the marriage of his Highness without difficulty; besides, it would be an alliance which might as much aid the Duke in the recovery of his country as any that could be thought of, because the kingdom would willingly contribute and give him assistance.

Lord William Howard's influence again told in favour of his imprisoned kinswoman at this stage in her career, as may be seen in Renard's almost despairing letter of April 22:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office Transcripts.]

April 22, 1554.

Her Majesty has not yet come to a resolution what is to be done with Courtenay and with Madame

Elizabeth. As to Courtenay, I see that she is inclined in his favour, and persuaded to give him his liberty by the intercession of the Comptroller [Sir Robert Rochester] and his friends, who have formed a close compact for his marriage with Elizabeth. And then as regards Elizabeth herself, the judges can find no matter for her condemnation. Already she has liberty to walk in the garden of the Tower; and even if they had proof, they would not dare to proceed against her, for the love of the Admiral, her relative, who espouses her quarrel, and has at present all the force of the kingdom in his power; yet (on the other hand) if they let her go, it seems evident that the heretics will proclaim her queen; while, if they set Courtenay at liberty, his Highness cannot be secure, for he will practise with the French, as he has already begun to do. . . .

All this while the French Ambassador had not been idle. Not content with congratulating the Queen on her success in crushing the revolt, he had the consummate coolness to demand the restoration of his intercepted cipher despatches to the French King, which had not only declared the part which Elizabeth and Courtenay were expected to play in the revolt, but had incidentally disclosed the intimate knowledge which Noailles himself possessed of the proceedings. One true statement he made in this connexion, in the midst of much audacious lying, and that was that the copy of Elizabeth's letter to Mary, which had been found among the papers for his master, had not been given to him by Elizabeth herself, but by one of her officers—which was a strong point, of course, in the Princess's favour. Mary was probably not far wrong, as Simon Renard says in the next letter, when she suspected Gardiner of having destroyed the French Ambassador's letters in order to save his friend Courtenay. The Chancellor's partiality for his old fellow-prisoner of the Tower is said to have been the saving of Elizabeth's life, for much as Gardiner would have liked Elizabeth safely out of the way, he could not remove her without removing Courtenay also. The reference at the end of the following

letter to the message alleged to have been sent by Courtenay to Elizabeth, while they were both in the Tower, seems to confirm a story related by Foxe to illustrate Elizabeth's love of children, which was one redeeming feature of a nature that for the most part was uncommonly cold and unemotional. According to Foxe it was the Princess's delight, when she was free to take her walk in the Tower garden, to meet a little boy of about four years old—the son of one of the men attached to the Tower—who would bring her flowers and amuse her with his childish chatter. It is possible that there was no more in it than appeared on the surface, but it was suspected that letters were being exchanged between Courtenay and Elizabeth by this means, and the Lords of the Council went the length of having the child brought before them and closely examined on the subject. They could extract nothing from him which in any way incriminated the prisoners. The boy's father, however, was reprimanded for permitting the intercourse, and the child himself forbidden to meet the Princess any more; yet he did his best the next day to do so. Elizabeth was walking in the garden as usual, but the boy could not go to her as the door was locked. "Mistress," he called, as he peeped through a hole, "I can bring you no more flowers now:"

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[Tytler's "*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*" From the Record Office Transcripts.]

May 1, 1554.

Sire.—The Queen having understood that the French ambassador had made a complaint, and demanded the restoration of two of his packets, which he said were seized and detained in England, (he being only able to speak of the one of which your Majesty has a copy,) Her Majesty, I say, has applied to the Chancellor to tell her what has become of the other. He has confessed to his having had it and read it; but says he knows not what he has done with it, or where he has put it. After searching for it, his secretary recollects having made an extract from

it, which bears in substance that Courtenay is to marry Madame Elizabeth; that the Queen must lose her kingdom and crown; and that the hired troops will turn against her because they are three years in arrear. The letter discovers the practices of Wyatt: it would have been of much consequence to recover the original, as a proof against Courtenay and Elizabeth; and the Queen is at a loss what to think of its having fallen aside, unless the Chancellor wished thus to save Courtenay. Already he had caused his name to be omitted in the decipher. Nevertheless, Her Majesty yesterday sent for the men of the law, and those Lords of the Council who were to be judges, to hear their report upon the criminal process against Courtenay, and to understand the resolution they had come to. The men of the law have unanimously given their judgment that he deserves death, and he will be sentenced accordingly. If it be so decided, I shall urge instant execution. It is asserted that Courtenay has sent his regards to the Lady Elizabeth by a child of five years old, who is in the Tower,—the son of one of the soldiers there.

As to Elizabeth herself, no resolution is yet taken.

In the midst of all these uncertainties Mary fell ill, and Gardiner, eager to be relieved of Elizabeth's troublesome presence, seized the opportunity—according to Thomas Heywood, in his "England's Elizabeth," published in 1631—to send a Privy Council warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydges, for the Princess's immediate execution; but the Lieutenant, observing that Mary's signature was missing from the warrant, refused to obey the command without the Queen's direct communication. Mary, according to the same authority, was angry when she heard the story, and, summoning Gardiner and the others concerned in the scheme, "blamed them for their inhuman usage of her sister, and took measures for her greater security." The story is uncorroborated, and has been generally discredited, but there is little doubt, as Froude remarks, that "as the hope of a judicial conviction grew

fainter, schemes were talked of, and were perhaps tried, for cutting the knot in a decisive manner." At all events it was for Elizabeth's greater safety that Sir Henry Bedingfeld—the Norfolk knight, in whose charge the captive was presently removed to Woodstock—arrived on May 4 to take command of the Tower. The new Lieutenant held this post for a fortnight only, the protests of Admiral Lord Howard, and the increasing agitation among the populace at Elizabeth's continued imprisonment, rendering her removal imperative. On May 19, therefore, she was delivered from the Tower and sent in Sir Henry's custody to the Palace of Woodstock. Six days later Edward Courtenay was also delivered from the Tower, being removed to Fotheringhay Castle, in Northamptonshire—in years to come the scene of the death of Mary Queen of Scots.

CHAPTER V

THE WOODSTOCK IMPRISONMENT (1554—1555)

The "Bedingfeld Papers" — Popular demonstration at Elizabeth's supposed release—The French Ambassador's apple trick—Elizabeth's journey to Woodstock—Lodged in the gate-house—Bedingfeld's instructions — Suspicious communications with Elizabeth—Her indignation at being refused permission to appeal against her continued imprisonment—Parry's behaviour—Elizabeth writes to the Queen—The Council's reply—Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer burned to death at Oxford—"My Lady Elizabeth's suit"—Elizabeth and Mary's marriage—Her changed tactics—A zealous Roman Catholic — Her letters to Jerningham and Mary — Bedingfeld's thankless task—Alleged attempts on Elizabeth's life—The situation in London—Outbreak of the religious persecutions — Elizabeth summoned to Hampton Court.

THE departure of the Princess for Woodstock opens one of the least-known chapters of Elizabeth's early life. The detailed account of this second captivity is buried in the "Bedingfeld Papers," edited by the late Canon C. R. Manning, and printed in 1855 by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, in Volume IV. of "Norfolk Archæology," in which the letters may be consulted in their original orthography. Miss Strickland makes some use of the papers in the later editions of her Life of Elizabeth, but they appear to have been overlooked by most English historians of the period, though M. Wiesener has not neglected them in "La Jeunesse d'Élisabeth d'Angleterre," translated thirty years ago by C. M. Yonge. Even M. Wiesener, with one or two exceptions, prints only brief extracts from the letters of which the "Bedingfeld Papers" mainly consist.[1] Froude evidently was unaware of their existence and dismisses the whole period of Elizabeth's long imprisonment at Woodstock—"under the harsh surveillance of Sir Henry Bedingfeld"—in little more than half

[1] The late Miss Stone, in "Studies from Court and Cloister" (published in 1905), includes a selection of extracts from these papers, with a sketch of Bedingfeld's career which, for the first time, does full justice to the memory of this much-maligned officer.

a page of his history. Nor can we find any mention of the "Bedingfeld Papers" either in the list of authorities appended to the lives of Elizabeth and Bedingfeld in the Dictionary of National Biography, or the bibliographies of the Cambridge Modern History. In the following chapter, therefore, we propose to include practically all the letters from this source, modernising the spelling as we have done with most of our historical documents. On her removal from the Tower on May 19, in charge of Sir Henry Bedingfeld and Lord Williams of Thame,[1] she was taken by the way she had come—the river—in order to avoid anything in the shape of a demonstration in her favour; but the news of her release, as it was popularly supposed to be, spread rapidly enough to allow a salute to be fired from the Steelyard along the river side. We learn of this incident from the "Papiers d'État du Cardinal Granvelle," where some of Renard's correspondence is now to be found, the transcripts in the Record Office coming to a close about this time:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

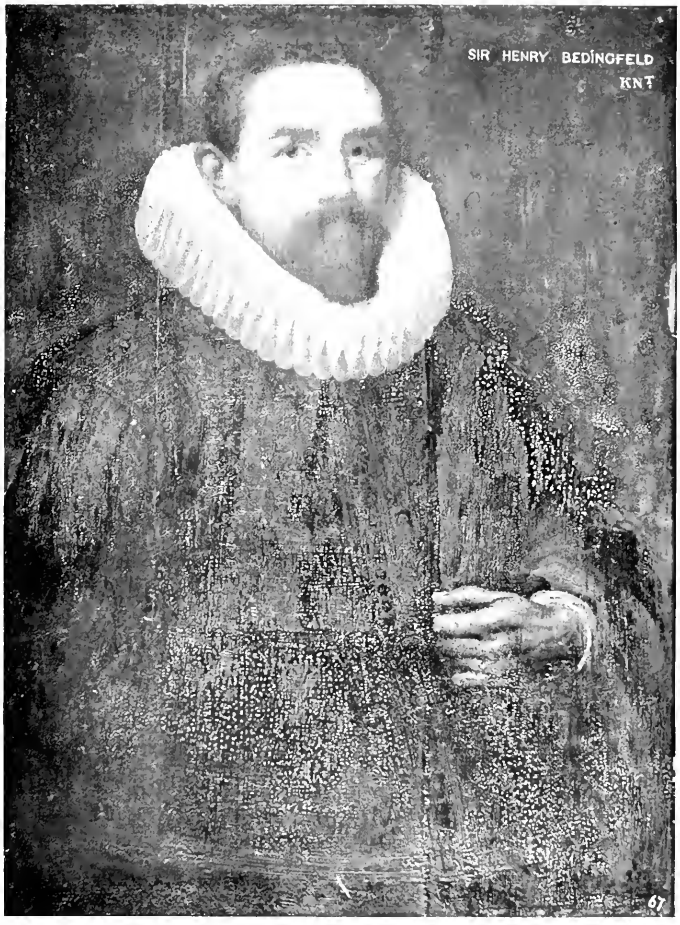
["*Papiers d'État du Cardinal Granvelle.*"]

UNDATED [*May 20 to 25, 1554*].

. . . Last Saturday Madame Elizabeth was removed from the Tower and brought to Richmond, and has been taken from the said Richmond to Woodstock, so that she may be more closely watched than she would have been at Pontefract.[2] She was accompanied by four hundred men, and the people made great rejoicings at her departure, thinking she was to be set at liberty. As she passed the Steelyard three rounds of artillery were fired as an evidence of their delight,

[1] Created Baron Williams of Thame earlier in the same year for supporting Mary at the time of Northumberland's plot. He treated Elizabeth with great consideration, and in February of the year following her accession was appointed Lord President of Wales. He died, however, in October of the same year. He was the owner of the great house at Rycote where Elizabeth stayed on her way to and from Woodstock.

[2] Gardiner had previously proposed to send Elizabeth to Pontefract, or Pomfret, Castle—"doubtless," suggests Froude, "to find the fate of the Second Richard there."



Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Knight.

(From a painting at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, by permission of Sir Hen[illegible] Bart.)

at which the Queen and her Council are much displeased, as they consider this a demonstration. . . .

The rival Ambassador, Antoine de Noailles, is now ready to take up the thread of the story and to reintroduce the scheme by which Charles V., failing to get Elizabeth disposed of by the more effectual way of the headsman's axe, hoped, by marrying her to the young Duke of Savoy, to remove her from the kingdom over which it was his delusive hope that his son would soon be absolute ruler as well as King Consort. Noailles suspected that the Emperor was guarding against the eventuality of Philip's marriage with Mary proving childless, his aim in that case being to have Elizabeth in his power and to support her in the succession against the claims of Mary Stuart, and the schemes of the King of France:

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

May 19, 1554.

. . . Madame Elizabeth, who has been found innocent of all the charges made against her, left the Tower to-day and is to sleep at Richmond. She passed through Westminster without stopping to see the Queen, her sister. I am told that the Sieurs de Corrieres and de Bouchard are to sup with her to-morrow and will lay before her the proposals for her marriage with the Duke of Savoy, for which purpose they have come over expressly. I hear, moreover, that if the said Lords do not find the Lady favourably inclined towards this match, a guard of forty archers will be sent next Monday to convey her to her house at Oxford, where she will remain with certain persons who will watch her closely, until the said Lady Queen, her sister, on leaving this town to go to Winchester, will visit her in her said house and induce her by some means or other to yield. You will see from this, Sire, that the said Emperor no longer has such a bad opinion of the said Lady Elizabeth, as he wishes to

use her as an instrument by which this crown shall not escape him, in case the said Queen has no children.

The Emperor's project of marrying Elizabeth to the Duke of Savoy was postponed, the visit of his envoys to the captive Princess being, as Noailles says in his next letter, abandoned. The subtle ruse by which the French Ambassador endeavoured to get to the bottom of the Imperialists' scheme gives a pretty touch of romance to the diplomatic trickery of the time:

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.
[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

May 24, 1554.

Sire,—I wrote to you in my last dispatch, of the 19th of this month, that Madame Elizabeth had been removed from the Tower to Richmond, where the Emperor's ambassadors were to visit her. But I have found since that this arrangement has been abandoned, and that the said Lady only slept at the said Richmond, and the next day was conveyed under guard to a manor called Woodstock, which is near Oxford, where, it is said, she will be examined as to her religion by the doctors and theologians of the said Oxford, and others; that she will be confined in this manor at the pleasure of the said Emperor, so that he may marry her to whom he chooses, or dispose of her in any other way he pleases, and I have been assured that my Lord Courtenay was also removed and taken to another part of the country called Fotheringhay, there to await the mercy of the said Emperor. Nevertheless such different opinions are held here, even by those who should know best, that I cannot offer your Majesty any certain information. But I am watching all that happens very closely so that I may keep you advised from one hour to the next. And with regard to this I may tell you, Sire, that the day after the said Lady Elizabeth went away, I sent one of my agents to follow her to Richmond, under the pretext of carrying her a present of apples. He promised me that he would find out all that the said

ambassadors were negotiating with her, but he had scarcely set foot in the mansion when he was seized by the guard of the said Lady and stripped to his shirt, and as they could find nothing on him but the apples, he was sent as a prisoner to my Lords of the Council, who, in their examination, asked him by whom he had been sent to make this present to the said Lady. But he played his part so cleverly that he evaded all suspicion, and is more desirous of serving you than ever.

According to one of Foxe's dubious anecdotes, Elizabeth considered herself in dire peril during her brief stay at Richmond. Her servants were dismissed, and as they left her she earnestly required their prayers, "for this night," she said, "I think to die"; whereupon her gentleman usher is said to have gone to Lord Williams of Thame, who was walking with Bedingfeld, to ask "whether the Princess his mistress were in danger of death that night, that if so he and his fellows might take such part as God would appoint." "Marry!" exclaimed Lord Williams, "God forbid that any such wickedness should be intended; which rather than it should be wrought I and my men will die at her feet." The next day, adds Foxe, "passing over the water to Richmond, going towards Windsor, her Grace espied certain of her poor servants standing on the other side which were very desirous to see her; whom, when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said: 'Yonder I see certain of my men; go to them and say these words from me: *Tanquam ovis*, like a sheep to the slaughter.' So she passing forward to Windsor was lodged that night in the Dean of Windsor's house, a place more meet indeed for a priest than a princess." The prisoner had been taken to Windsor from Richmond by road, Mary, let it be added, sending her own litter for her sister's comfort. But Elizabeth does not seem to have borne the journey well, being "right weary in my judgment," says Bedingfeld in his official report of the journey.

"The present day," he writes, "she hath not been very well at ease, as your Highness's women did declare unto me, and yet at the afternoon she required to walk and see

another lodging in the house. In the which, and other like requests, I am marvellously perplexed to grant her desire, or to say nay. Seeing it hath been your Highness's pleasure to remove her prison from the Tower of London, where I was led to act upon certain articles by me exhibited to my Lords of the Council, and by them ordered, which were to me a perfect rule at that time, and is very hard to be observed in this place; wherefore I most lowly and heartily do desire your Highness to give me authority and order in writing from your Majesty or your Council how to demean myself in this your Highness's service, whereby I shall be the more able to do the same, and also receive comfort and heart's ease to be your Highness's beadsman to God for the preservation of your most princely and sovereign estate long to endure for God's honour."

Sir Henry Bedingfeld was fearful throughout his thankless task lest he should do or say something which should bring him into trouble. He has been branded by historians as a ruffian who treated Elizabeth with consistent disrespect, but his letters prove him to have been more indecisive than harsh —anxious to perform his duty thoroughly, but dreadfully afraid to do anything without the highest authority for so doing. It is pleasant to find him on his knees before the captive Princess when he reads the Queen's letter to her, especially when we compare it with the discredited story —repeated in his memoir in the "Dictionary of National Biography"—to the effect that on one occasion (the legend says it was during the journey to Woodstock) he had the impertinence to sit down, in order to have his boots pulled off, in the chair of state that had been provided for his royal prisoner. That Elizabeth herself cherished no ill-will towards the Norfolk knight is evident from various marks of distinction which she conferred upon him after her accession, among others the visit which, according to Nichols, she paid him at Oxburgh in one of her "progresses" in 1578.[1]

[1] Dr. Jessopp, by the way, in his life of Elizabeth in the "Dictionary of National Biography," is wrong in stating that Bedingfeld was "the same gentleman who had kept watch and ward over Queen Catherine at Kimbolton seventeen years before" the Woodstock journey. It was Sir Henry's father who acted as Catherine's custodian during the last years of her life.

On arriving at the Royal Manor of Woodstock at the end of the fifth day's journey—a journey which was more of a triumphal progress than a passage from one prison to another, so many demonstrations of affection awaited Elizabeth all along the route—the Princess was not lodged in the palace proper, but at the gate-house, where, reports Bedingfeld, there were only prepared for her "four chambers with the Queen's stuff and her Grace's own." "In the whole house," he continues, "there were but three doors only that were able to be locked and barred, to the great disquiet and trouble of mind of the persons committed to attend upon her Grace in so large an house and unacquainted country." On the following day Lord Williams of Thame, who had slept at the Lodge, took farewell of the Princess, leaving her, as arranged, in Bedingfeld's sole charge. The writer of the life of Lord Williams in the "Dictionary of National Biography" is obviously in error in stating that he conducted Elizabeth "from Brentford to Woodstock, where she remained for a time in his custody, until the consideration with which he treated her caused her transference to the keeping of Sir Henry Bedingfeld." Bedingfeld received his instructions in the following terms:

THE QUEEN'S COUNCIL TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

SAINT JAMES'S, *May* 26, 1554.

After our right hearty commendations, we have received your letters and seen your articles of the proceedings hitherto in your charge, which being reported by us to the Queen's Highness, her Grace liketh your doings very well, and wills us to give you thanks on her behalf, and her Highness doubts not but that you will continue as you have begun, following such instructions as you shall herewith receive. And, touching Parry,[1] we see no cause why he

[1] The cofferer, Thomas Parry, who, notwithstanding the Council's letter, continued in Elizabeth's service during her imprisonment at Woodstock, taking up his quarters at the "Bull" in Woodstock town.

should make any longer abode there, but may well depart from thence, as was signified to him by me, the Lord Treasurer,[1] before his going thither. As for money, either the said Parry may deliver it to a clerk of the Kitchen, to be defrayed from time to time, or else unto Thomew,[2] who will presently go thither to his charge. Thus we bid you farewell most heartily.

Postscript.—For your better order during the time of your charge you shall understand her Highness the Queen's pleasure by her graces sent herewith.

A Memorial given by the Queen's Highness unto her trusty and right Councillor, Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Knight, for the purposes ensuing :

May 21, 1554.

First, whereas we have appointed our Sister, the Lady Elizabeth, for divers good considerations, to be removed from our Tower of London unto our Manor of Woodstock, there to remain until we shall otherwise determine. The said Sir Henry Bedingfeld, having in his company such number of persons as we have appointed for that purpose, shall make his abode and give his attendance within our said house of Woodstock about the person of our said Sister and in his service shall govern himself as followeth :

Item : When commodity shall serve, he shall briefly declare to such gentlemen as we have already addressed our letters for his assistance in our service and to such others also as shall have occasion to visit him, the cause of our said Sister's late committal to the Tower, whereof, although she be not at present thoroughly cleared, yet have we, for her better quiet, and that she may be more honourably used, thought

[1] William Paulet, first Marquess of Winchester.

[2] Mr. Thomew, or Tomyo, shortly afterwards came to live at the castle with his wife. They appear to have held positions of considerable confidence in the Woodstock household.

fit to appoint that she should remain at our said Manor of Woodstock, until such time as certain matters touching her ease, which are not yet cleared, may be thoroughly tried and examined.

Item: The said Sir Henry Bedingfeld shall cause my said Sister to be safely watched for the safeguard of her person; nevertheless having regard to use her in such good and honourable fashion as may be agreeable to our honour and her estate and degree.

Item: He shall, at convenient times, suffer our said Sister, for her recreation, to walk abroad and take the air in the garden of our said house; so as he himself be present in her company.

Item: He shall cause good heed to be given to our said Sister's behaviour, seeing that she be suffered neither to have conference with any suspected person out of his hearing, nor that she does, by any means, either receive or send any message, letter, or token to or from any manner of person.

Item: He shall generally have good regard, not only to the Princess, according to the trust reposed in him, but shall also do his best to cause the country thereabouts to continue in good and quiet order, using, either for that purpose, or for any other matter that shall occur, the advice and assistance of the said gentleman to whom we have already addressed our letters for that purpose; and if any matter shall happen touching this, his charge, worthy advertisement, he shall immediately signify the same unto our private Council, attending upon our person, to the end that such further order may be taken by them in that behalf as shall be convenient.—MARY, THE QUEEN.

That Bedingfeld needed the most explicit directions regarding his conduct towards his captive may be judged from the letter which he hastened to send in answer to these instructions from the Queen and her Council:

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *May* 27, 1554.

So it is, most honourable Lords, that upon the return of my brother Humphrey, I received instructions, signed with the Queen's Majesty's hand and enclosed in a letter signed by your Lordships, as a warrant to direct how my service was to be used during Her Majesty's pleasure, and I trust only in God to make me able to do and accomplish the same. I travail and shall do the best of my power until God and her Highness shall otherwise dispose of me, wishing that shortly it should come to pass, if it may so stand with her Highness's good contention, and that of your honours. As touching the first article, which, in effect, purports this: that I should not suffer her Grace the Lady Elizabeth to have conference with any suspected person out of my hearing, and that she does [not] by any means either receive or send any message, letter or token to or from any manner of person; under your honourable corrections I must answer thus: That regarding conference with suspected persons, if your Lordships mean strangers and such as are not daily attending upon her person with your knowledge and consent, with the above said help I dare take upon me that to do. But if you mean general conference with all persons, as well within her house as without, I shall beseech your pardon, for that I dare not take upon me, nor yet for message, letter, or token which may be conveyed by any of the three women of her private chamber, her two grooms of the same, or the yeoman of the robes; all of which persons, and no others, are with her Grace at her going to her lodging, and are privy to it all night until such time when she comes to her dining chamber. The grooms always, after going abroad, within the house have full opportunity to do such matter as is

before prohibited; and hereunto I beseech your honours to ask my Lord Chamberlain whether it is possible for me to do this or not, whose order, in all things, I have to do, according to my poor wit and endeavour, put in use, and upon his declaration to direct possible order.

At the present writing hereof, one Marbery, the servant of my Lady's Grace, brought his wife, Elizabeth Marbery, to be received to wait upon her Grace in the stead of Elizabeth Sands;[1] and, as I had received no manner of warrant from you, my Lord, to do it, I have required the said Marbery to stay himself and his wife hereabouts, until I might receive the same; which I pray you to do with all speed, for they are very poor folks, and unable to bear their own charge, as I perceive.

Her Grace, thanks be to God, continues in reasonable health and quietness, so far as I can perceive, but she claims promises from the mouth of my Lord Treasurer and Chamberlain to have the liberty of walking within the whole park of Woodstock. This she has caused to come to my ears by my Lady Grey,[2] but has never spoken of it to me in express words. At my awaiting upon her Grace in M. Dormer's garden,[3] she desired me to entreat the Queen's Highness, and you, my Lords, on her behalf that she might have one John Picton,[4] who taught her many tongues in her youth, which, she said, she was likely to forget for want of use. And it would seem that her Grace has sent to Parry, her cofferer, for certain books; but the said Parry says that this was done by his own device. Two of them he sent to me, the one, Tully's

[1] Elizabeth Sands, one of Elizabeth's waiting women, was declared by the Queen to be "a person of evil opinion, and not fit to remain about our said sister's person." The Council accordingly sent the Princess another of her women to take Elizabeth Sands's place—the Elizabeth Marbery referred to.

[2] Lady Anne Grey, one of Elizabeth's attendants.

[3] A reference to their stay at Sir William Dormer's house on the third day of their journey to Woodstock.

[4] Nothing appears to be known of this early instructor of Elizabeth.

"Officiis," and the other, the book of David's Psalms in Latin, both of which I have returned to him for lack of warrant as before. I have taken a bill of the names of all the books he had in readiness to send, which I send for your Lordships to see.

Her Grace has not hitherto requested to walk in any other place than in the over and nether garden with the orchard; if she should happen to do so I must needs answer that I neither dare nor will consent to it, till I am authorized by the Queen's Highness and your honours to do so. As touching the quiet state and condition of this country, I understand no more than what I advise your Lordships by this bearer, together with certain depositions against one Henry, Esquire, taken before Sir William Rainsford and me, which seemed so heinous that he and I both thought it our duty to send the person of the said Esquire to your Lordships, without any talking with him.

There has also been one Laurence Harris brought before us, whose confession I am also sending unto your Lordships under his own hand, whose offence was weighed by us to be much inferior to the other, and therefore we allowed him bail with two sufficient sureties, each of them in £20, and he himself in £42, to appear at all times wheresoever the Queen's Highness and your Lordships shall command, or else at the next general sessions held at Oxford, and in the meantime to be of good behaviour.

I also send your Lordships a report in writing of Charles Smith, the Groom of the pantry to her Grace, who, without licence, departed from Sir William Dormer's house to a town called Princes Risborough, in Buckinghamshire, to a man's house in the same town, whose name is Francis Pigott, with the examination of his doings which was taken there by Sir William Dormer and George Wright, under their own hands. I have not given orders for the punishment of his said offence because Sir William Dormer did not send me before this present day the deposition of the said Pigott and others: hitherto he has remained

in the ward of his own fellow yeoman of the pantry, wherefore I pray your Lordships to give the order for his punishment.

I have found very much diligence in Sir John Browne [Sheriff of Oxfordshire], Sir John Harcourt, and Sir William Rainsford to serve the Queen's Majesty when occasion requires. Mr. Parry, the cofferer of my Lady's Grace, upon the declaration of your pleasure that he should depart, has put himself in readiness to do the same; and, on talking with him, it was agreed between us that the house should remain as it is, with the persons already placed here, to which I willingly consent, if your Lordships do not command the contrary.

Cornwall, the gentleman usher, desired that I should give my assent to the cloth of state being put up for her Grace, whereunto I directly said no, until your Lordships' pleasure was known.

I perceive that the information from hence by post horse will be chargeable to the Queen's Majesty, so I will abstain [from writing] as much as I possibly can, unless your Lordships encourage me thereunto: but this ignorant fellow, whom I am sending to you, is, I am informed, well able to bear all charges.

At present we have heard no word of Mr. Thomew.

Thus, with my humble duty to all your honours, I commit the same to our Lord Almighty, from Woodstock, the 27th of May.

Postscript.—There was some peril from fire in the house, from which we have, without any serious loss, escaped, thanks be to God.

Bedingfeld's postscript to the above letter probably provides the key to the mystery of the fire which developed, in the narratives of Foxe and Heywood, into a dastardly attempt to burn Elizabeth in her bed! Tennyson, unfortunately, has immortalised this legend in "Queen Mary: a Drama," together with other antiquated libels on Sir Henry Bedingfeld.

THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

RICHMOND, *May* 31, 1554.

After our right hearty commendations, we have received your letter of the 27th of this present, together with your advertisements. For your travail therein we give you, on behalf of the Queen's Highness, our very hearty thanks, and where you desire to be relieved of several doubts which you gather from your instructions you shall understand that although we well know you cannot meet such inconveniences as may happen by those that attend upon the Lady Elizabeth in bringing her letters, messages, or tokens, yet if you shall use your diligence and wisdom there as you see fit, it shall be a sufficient discharge. As for strangers, you must see that no suspected persons have any conference with her at all; and even such strangers whom you shall think honest and not suspicious should only be permitted to speak with her in your hearing. As for the placing of Elizabeth Marbery in the place of Sands, letters have already been sent to you from the Queen's Highness therefor, which we pray you to have executed accordingly.

Whereas she claimeth that the Lord Treasurer and me, the Lord Chancellor [Bishop Gardiner], promised that she should walk in the park, we have heard nothing before this time thereof; so do not I, the Lord Chamberlain [Sir John Gage], remember any such promise. As touching her request to have John Picton, we know not the man, and therefore can make not any answer as yet. We think good that you receive and deliver the books you write of, which she requireth, foreseeing that no other matter be written or put in them which may tend to further inconvenience. We return to you herewith the confession of Laurence Harris, of whom we pray you to assure his personal appearance at the next general sessions

which are held in the county; at which time we think it good that you should send his confession thither, to the end that he may be dealt with accordingly. We also return to you the person of Henry, Esquire, with our letters and the examinations of his behaviour enclosed, to Sir John Browne, and Sir William Rainsford, and the other justices of the peace in the county, a you are not in commission there, and our letters, [which] when you have perused and seen our orders therein, we pray you to send together with the said Esquire, according to the direction; and as we perceive from you that the said Esquire has the ability, we think it good that you should cause him to bear his own charges, besides his further punishment. Regarding Smith, the Groom of the pantry, you may, after you have given him a sound rebuke and admonition to beware of such occasions henceforth, restore him again to his office. We had thought that Thomew was with you before this time, and have forthwith given orders that he shall at once repair thither. We send back the examination sent by Dr. Owen to you, concerning one John Hill, whom we pray you to have examined by some of the justices of the peace thereabouts, and, the matter being proved against him, cause him to be punished by setting him in the pillory, or in any other way they shall think fit. Thus praying you to continue your accustomed good service, we bid you farewell right heartily.

Postscript. — Whereas mistress Poyntz, the late mother of the maids, has departed, the Queen's Highness desires to have mistress Broughton in her room, and so will send Margaret Morton, one of her Highness's women, to give attendance there in mistress Broughton's place. Therefore her Highness desires you, at the coming of the said Morton, to place her, and dispatch mistress Broughton to attend here.

Sir Henry Bedingfeld seems to have forwarded to the Council the seemingly harmless books for which Elizabeth had sent

to Parry—the "De Officiis," of Cicero, and the "Psalms of David" in Latin, as mentioned in Bedingfeld's letter of May 27—together with several letters which accompanied them. The Council, not without reason, suspected that there might be more than appeared on the surface in these innocent-looking communications from the outside world, and, as the next letter shows, ordered that all such proceedings must cease:

THE COUNCIL TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

RICHMOND, *June* 2, 1554.

After our right hearty commendations, we have received your letters of the last of May, together with the books you sent to us by this bearer; and have made the Queen's Highness privy to your doings on this behalf, who has taken your diligence and circumspection in very acceptable part. And although we cannot find any matter of suspicion in the said books, yet the Queen's Highness, and we all, think it very strange that any person should, of their own authority, without order or command, presume to send thither either books or any other thing, and therefore her Highness thinks it good, seeing that such particular occasions of sending in and out such things might peradventure serve to cloak matters of greater importance, that you should henceforth give heed to your charge, and, as you have well begun, avoid, as best you can, the inconvenience which might grow by suffering things to pass to and fro without your knowledge. And inasmuch as it appears hereby that such private persons as are disposed to make uneasiness will not delay to take the occasion, if they may, of conveying letters and messages in and out by some secret practice, Her Majesty's further pleasure for the avoiding of this is that you shall henceforth suffer no manner of person, other than those who are already appointed to be about the Lady Elizabeth, to come to her, or have any manner of talk or conference with

her; notwithstanding any former instructions or letters to the contrary sent to you heretofore. And, nevertheless, if she shall herself make any request to you to have any book that is honest and sufferable to read or pass her time withal, the Queen's pleasure is that you shall cause the same to be sent for and delivered to her. As for the person who sent the books,[1] inasmuch as, among other things, he makes mention in his letters of the lack of a compass to set his pen with, which words seem to us to be ambiguous and to have some secret meaning in them, her Highness's pleasure is that you shall forthwith send for him, and not only give him a sharp rebuke for his presumption in sending these books of his own private authority, but also to examine him straightly upon the same words written in his letter, and by the best means you can devise, understand from him what is meant by them, and return us answer of what you shall have done herein by your next. As touching the Lady Elizabeth's request to have Dorothy Bradbelt, or Elizabeth Norwich, placed about her instead of Sands, as the Queen's Highness was at first, for divers good considerations, moved to refuse to have either of the said two women placed about the Lady Elizabeth, who then made request to have one of them, even so does Her Majesty now, for the same respects which moved her thereto at first, refuse to have any of these placed there. And therefore requireth you, seeing that Marbery has already come thither for that purpose, and that she is one of the Lady Elizabeth's women, and has heretofore served her in the place of one of her chamberwomen, to put her in Sands's stead, and to dispatch Sands thence as soon as you can, persuading the Lady Elizabeth to be contented with this Her Majesty's pleasure and determination. And thus we bid you farewell right heartily.

Then comes Bedingfeld's reply, which may be allowed to speak for itself:

[1] John Fortescue, Parry's son-in-law.

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *June* 5, 1554.

May it please your honourable Lordships to be advised that I received your letters, dated at Richmond, the 2nd of June. According to the matter thereof, with God's grace, I shall employ my service here during the time of the Queen's pleasure. And as touching the placing of Elizabeth Marbery, and the sending away of Elizabeth Sands, the same was done this present day, at about two of the clock in the afternoon, not without great mourning both by my Lady's Grace and Sands. And she was conveyed into the town by my brother Edmund and by him delivered to Mr. Parry, who, at my request, yesterday night prepared horse and men to be ready to take her either to Clerkenwell, beside London, to her uncle there, or else into Kent, to her father, to whom he promised she should go. This I make known to your Lordships because I think her a woman who should be watched, because of her obstinate disposition. I have written also this present day to the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and required them by the same to send me the person of Fortescue, with the intent of examining him according to your Lordships' instruction, which I trust will be better done by Mr. Secretary Bourne, who, this night, lies at Oxford, whom I have heartily entreated to be at the pains of examining the said Fortescue, as the town is a more apt place for that purpose than to have had him brought to me. The said Mr. Secretary has promised to certify your Lordships of his whole doings in the matter. By this, your Lordships, [I have to inform you] that Mr. Parry remains in the town of Woodstock at this present. Yet I declared to him, in the hearing of Sir William Rainsford, your Lordships' former pleasure for his departure, mentioned in your letter of the 27th of May last, [but] for

my discharge for the needful provision of this household, it has been thought meet, as I here say, by my Lord Treasurer, that the said Mr. Parry should remain here, the former opinion notwithstanding, which, if this shall agree to your honourable resolutions, it shall wholly disburden Mr. Thomew and me of the aforesaid cares, which, not to offend the Queen's Majesty, nor you, my good Lords, for my own part I neither will nor dare intermeddle myself with. So, as an humble beadsman of Her Majesty's prosperity, and your Lordships in honour long to continue, in God's pleasure, I take my leave of the same.

Sir Henry continued to be troubled as to what he might or might not permit his prisoner to read. Elizabeth's request for an English Bible savoured too much of heresy to be granted without the Council's consent; but the Council, as will be seen in their letter of June 13th, said that she might have it:

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *June* 9, 1554.

After my humble recommendations, you were pleased, on the return of my brother Humphrey, to send me your letters from Richmond on the 2nd of this present month, by which messenger your Lordships returned to me the book which I sent you, allowing the same to be sufferable for her Grace, the Lady Elizabeth, to use if she should happen to desire it, which she has not done for any book until yesterday morning. During the time of her walk she asked me whether I had any English Bible of the smallest volume, or not; and I answered her Grace with truth that I, myself, had never had one; and then she said "If you will send to my Cofferer, I am sure he has."

To that I made no answer; but on my return, I sent a servant of mine to the said Mr. Cofferer for the books, and received from him the reply that, at that time, he had none at all. Yet that afternoon a servant of his brought three books, *Officia Tullii; De Officiis Marci Tullii Ciceronis libri tres;* and *Psalterium Daviticu cu aliquot cañtice ecclesiastice* [*sic*]. On the delivery of which he said he was commanded by his master to inquire of me how my Lady's Grace liked the books which were last sent to her. To that I answered that I knew of none which had come into her hands since I had attended upon her Grace. I perceive, therefore, by this message, that his master knows privately both that I had the three books, together with the three letters of his son-in-law, John Fortescue, sent from Oxford, and, as far as I know, they must be the same three books enclosed with paper paste which your Lordships returned to me. . . . My Lady Elizabeth's Grace continues in her usual health, with the exception only of a swelling in her face at certain times. To me, in express words, she has never complained of her want of liberty in walking; but to Her Majesty's women, as they have told me, she has often remembered the promise of my Lord Treasurer, made to her especially on the day of her departure from the Tower. Having nothing to advise your Lordships of at this present, I commend the Queen's Majesty and your honours to our Lord God Almighty.

It was not in Elizabeth's nature tamely to submit to banishment in the heart of the country when she knew that popular feeling was running high against the approaching Spanish marriage, and that every day her own supporters were growing in number and distinction. She lost patience with Bedingfeld when he gently but firmly declined to keep sending her messages of protest to the Council. As the next letter shows, however, the Norfolk knight could no longer resist "the importunate desire of this great Lady":

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *June* 12, 1554.

May it please your honourable Lordships to be advised that the same day I last wrote to you, my Lady Elizabeth's Grace asked whether I had provided her the book of the Bible in English of the smallest volume, or no. I answered that there were divers Latin books in my hands, ready to be delivered, if it pleased her to have them, wherein, as I thought, she should have more delight, seeing she understands the same so well; therefore I had not provided the former; which answer I perceived she took not in good part. And within half an hour after that, in her walking in the nether garden, in the most unpleasant fashion that ever I saw her since her coming from the Tower, she called me to her again, and said in these words:

"I have at divers times spoken to you to write to my Lords regarding certain of my requests, and you never make me answer to any of them. I think" (quoth she) "you make none of my Lords privy to my suit but my Lord Chamberlain, regarding which, although I know him to be a good gentleman, yet by age, and his other earnest business, I know he has occasion to forget many things."

To this I answered that I did never write in her Grace's matters to any of you, my Lords, privately, and said further unto her Grace that I thought this was a time when your Lordships had great business, and therefore her Grace could not look for direct answer upon the first suit.

"Well," said she, once again, "I require you to write unto my said Lords, and desire them on my behalf to request the Queen's Majesty to grant me leave to write to her Highness with my own hand, and in this I pray you let me have answer as soon as you can."

To this I answered, "I shall do for your Grace that

I am able to do, which is right to my said Lords, and then it must needs rest in their honourable considerations whether I shall have answer or no." Since which time her Grace has never spoken to me.

Surely I take it, that the remembrance of the departure of Elizabeth Sands, and the placing only of Marbery in her room, clearly against her late desire, is some cause of her grief. I think also she has got knowledge of the books that Fortescue had lately in readiness to have been conveyed to her by his father, who is wondrously fit to do these enterprises if he be disposed thereto. Surely, as I have declared to your honours, there is an evident way, that I cannot avoid by any possible means, which is that daily and hourly the said Parry may have and give intelligence. But because I know nothing of the man, therefore I must needs refer the judgment of him to your Lordships. The said Mr. Parry, I do understand from my brother Edmund, makes great doubts regarding the diet, which, by your Lordships' order, I have appointed within my Lady Grace's household, and the number of twenty persons with me, which with God's grace I shall at no time exceed, and also for Mr. Thomew and his three servants, who, as far as I know, takes no more allowance than I had before his coming. For we and our servants keep altogether. To this he says it should be his part to have a warrant in writing to be shown for his discharge. Mr. Cornwallis, the gentleman usher with her Grace, has fallen into an old disease in his leg, so that he cannot stand to wait for two days in a week, and her Grace is driven to be served in his place by a groom of her private chamber. Wherefore, may it please your Lordships to devise that some honest man, known to you, be sent with warrant to serve in his place. One Verney,[1] her Grace's servant, has lain with the Cofferer ever since his coming to Woodstock. I pray God it has been

[1] Francis Verney, fourth son of Sir Ralph Verney. He was executed in 1556 for participating in the fresh plot to dethrone Mary and place Elizabeth and Courtenay on the throne.

all for good: by anything which I can learn I am not persuaded to have a good opinion of him. Edmonds, her Grace's servant, son-in-law to the Lord Williams, has been here with two presents for her Grace; the one, freshwater fish, and the other, two dead pheasant cocks; who, at both his comings, made very long abode among her Grace's servants, and would not come to me, till at this last time I sent for him, and in the hearing of Master Thomew I talked with him of his said abode, and he, with very fair words, answered me that he neither did, nor would, do anything contrary to his allegiance. Whereupon I advised him, his fair words notwithstanding, to abstain until he knew further from repairing any more hither, or from sending any more presents, and to take knowledge thereof peremptorily, and so sent him away. Thus I am enforced by the importunate desire of this great Lady to trouble your Lordships with more letters than is contentful with my own opinion, wherein I shall desire your favourable bearing withal; remaining in this, the Queen's Majesty's house of Woodstock, her poor beadsman and servant, I shall most humbly commend your Lordships to our Lord God Almighty.

From Bedingfeld's last letter it is clear that Elizabeth was not so closely confined as to shut her off altogether from secret intelligence from outside, and the tolerance of the Council in permitting Parry, the Cofferer, to remain in the neighbourhood after these renewed suspicions of Bedingfeld is not a little surprising:

THE COUNCIL TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

RICHMOND, *June* 13, 1554.

After our very hearty commendations, we have received your letters of the 12th of this month, whereby we perceive the continuance of your good circumspection and diligence in the charge committed

unto you, which we have reported to the Queen's Highness, who takes your doings therein in very acceptable part, and gives you her hearty thanks for the same. And as touching the Lady Elizabeth's request, you may provide her the English Bible she requires, and in the rest satisfy her with some general good words until you may have further answer from hence. As for the difficulty that Parry makes as to the allowance of your diet, we do, for the avoiding thereof, send you herewith her Highness the Queen's warrant addressed to him for that purpose, which you may cause to be delivered to him for his better discharge in that behalf. And seeing Cornwallis, the Lady Elizabeth's gentleman usher, is, as you write, in such case that he cannot well serve in that room, you may cause him to be removed thence, and, in his place, receive Smith, who also has heretofore served her in that room, foreseeing that, before this man's placing, the other be removed thence; and thus referring all other things to be used by your discretion according to your former instructions, we bid you farewell right heartily.

Postscript.—The Queen's Majesty is also pleased that the Lady Elizabeth's Grace may write to her Highness, according to her desire. The Queen's Highness is pleased that mistress Thomew shall be absent for twenty days to put herself in all readiness to attend upon Her Majesty at her marriage, and that the Lady Grey shall be removed as soon as one may be found to attend in her room, whereof you shall be advised.

Elizabeth was not slow to take advantage of the concession contained in the above postscript, which also conveyed some intelligence of the great event that was already stirring the larger world at Court. Philip was preparing to leave Spain for the wedding ceremony, and Elizabeth's letter probably reached the Queen about the time that the Marquis de las Naves, who preceded him, arrived on June 19 with

the royal present for the bride. Unfortunately Elizabeth's letter to Mary cannot be traced. The only letters written by Elizabeth from Woodstock of which we have any knowledge are one which she wrote to the Vice-Chamberlain Jerningham, printed in Nichols's "Progresses," and another to the Queen, printed by Leti, which, if genuine, must have been written some months later, as will be seen in due course:

THE COUNCIL TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

FARNHAM, *June* 25, 1554.

After our very hearty commendations, we have seen your letters, written to me, the Lord Chamberlain, and do thereby perceive the request made to you by the Lady Elizabeth's Grace [that we should] be the means of obtaining the Queen's answer to the letter she lately sent to Her Majesty. The answer whereunto may appear by her Highness's letter presently to be sent to you, when we shall have considered it, and you may report the effect thereof to the Lady Elizabeth as you shall see cause accordingly. As touching the physician whom she desires may be sent to her, we would be glad to satisfy her request in this part; but, forasmuch as Dr. Hughes[1] has been ill at ease of late, and is not yet thoroughly recovered, and Mr. Wendy[2] is at present absent from the Court, there cannot now be any of the Queen's physicians sent thither, as none of them remain but Mr. Owen; who, nevertheless, has commended to us two honest learned men remaining at Oxford, one called Doctor Barnes, and the other Walbec, whom he reports to be very skilful men. If she thinks fit to have any of them, the Queen's Highness is pleased that you shall give orders that one or the other shall repair thither for that purpose. And thus referring you for answer to the

[1] Thos. Hughes, M.D., of Oxford, physician to Queen Mary.
[2] Thos. Wendy, M.D., of Cambridge, physician to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary.

rest of your letter to our former letters, lately sent to you, we bid you farewell most heartily.

Dr. Owen, although he could not himself attend, sent the following advice for the treatment of Elizabeth's complaint—an interesting sidelight on medical science as it existed in England in the sixteenth century. Dr. George Owen was one of the physicians of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, and at the time of writing was President of the Royal College of Physicians:

DR. OWEN TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

GUILDFORD, *June* 24, 1554.

May it please you that I have understood from my Lord, of the Queen's Highness's most honourable Council, that my Lady Elizabeth's Grace is troubled with swelling in her face, and also in her arms and hands. Sir, the occasion of these effects is that her Grace's body is replenished with many cold and watery humours, to be removed but by purgations meet and convenient for that purpose. But forasmuch as this time of the year, and especially the distemperance of the weather, does not permit to administer purgations, her Grace must have patience until the time of the year shall be meeter for medicines, and in the mean-time only use such diet as is meetest to preserve her Grace from the increase of such humours; which diet I have written to you in a paper herein enclosed. And thus I take my leave from your mastership. Yours to command, GEORGE OWEN.

Mary, apparently, would not write to Elizabeth direct. She preferred to do so through the medium of Sir Henry Bedingfeld, and her letter puts in a nutshell the whole case against the captive Princess. Elizabeth summed it up better still in the familiar verse—

Much suspected, "of me
Nothing proved can be"
Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner—

which she is said to have written with a diamond on a pane of glass before leaving her Woodstock prison :

QUEEN MARY TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

FARNHAM CASTLE, *June* 25, 1554.

Mary, the Queen.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas our pleasure was of late signified to you for the Lady Elizabeth to have licence to write to us, we have now received her letters, which contain only certain arguments devised for her declaration in such matters as she has been charged withal by the voluntary declaration of divers others. In which arguments she would seem to persuade us that the testimony of those which have opened matters against her were not such as they are, or, being such, should have no credit. But as we were most sorry at the beginning to have any occasion for suspicion, so, when it appeared that copies of her secret letters to us were found in the packet of the French ambassador,[1] and that divers of the most notable traitors made their chief account upon her, we can hardly be brought to think they would have presumed to do so, except they had had more certain knowledge of her favour towards their unnatural conspiracy than is yet confessed by her. And therefore, though we have for our part, considering the matters brought to our knowledge against her, used more clemency and favour towards her than it has been customary in the like matters, yet these fair words cannot so much abuse us but we do well understand how things have been wrought. Conspiracies are secretly practised, and things of that nature are many times judged by probable conjectures and other suspicions and arguments, where the plain direct proof may chance to fail ; even as wise Solomon judged who was the true mother of the child by the

[1] Noailles, as stated on p. 123, did not obtain these papers from Elizabeth herself, but from one of the members of her household.

women's behaviour and words, when other proof failed and could not be had. By the arguments and circumstances of her said letter, and with the other articles declared on your behalf by your brother to our Privy Council, it may well appear that her meaning and purpose is far other than her letter purports; wherefore our pleasure is that we shall not be hereafter molested any more with her disguised and colourable letters, but wish for her that it may please our Lord to grant her His grace that she may be towards Him as she ought to be; then shall she be the sooner towards us as it becomes her to be. This much have we thought good to write to you, to the intent that you might understand the effect of those letters, and so continue your accustomed diligence in the charge committed by us to you. Given under our signet at the Castle of Farnham, the 25th day of June, in the first year of our reign.

Here the crafty Noailles reappears on the scene, busy as usual in his intrigues against the Imperialists' plans. The proposed marriage between Elizabeth and Emmanuel Philibert, Prince of Piedmont and Duke of Savoy, was still in the air, and it will be seen how he contrived to influence Elizabeth against it. The young Prince of Piedmont was the son of Charles III. of Savoy, who had lost practically all his dominions by siding with the Emperor Charles V. in his war with France:

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

June 26, 1554.

. . . There is still some talk of the marriage of Madame Elizabeth with the Prince of Piedmont. Nevertheless I am told that she will not hear of it unless she is forced; and in order to strengthen this feeling in her, according to what you were pleased to command me in a former letter, I have bribed one of her mother's near relations, who has promised me

to put before her skilfully what an injury she would do herself by marrying a disinherited prince, whom the Emperor is using as a tool by which he may deprive her of her hopes of this crown. But she is being so harshly treated that I am very much afraid she will submit, if she can regain her liberty thereby.

The scene shifts back to Woodstock, whence comes a letter from Bedingfeld which brings out the Tudor pride of the Princess in refusing to see the Oxford physicians, and in bidding Bedingfeld "stay till her Grace had dined" before she would listen to the message from Queen Mary, which in her heart she was full of anxiety to hear:

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *July* 4, 1554.

. . . At first I opened to her Grace the answer of her late suit, made by my letters to my Lord Chamberlain, to have the repair of certain physicians; that your Lordships would be glad to satisfy her request in that part, but forasmuch as Doctor Hughes has been ill at ease of late, and is not yet thoroughly recovered, and Mr. Wendy is at present absent from the Court, there cannot now be any of the Queen's physicians sent thither, as none of them remain but Mr. Owen, who, nevertheless, has commended to your Lordships two honest learned men, remaining at Oxford, one called Doctor Barnes, and the other, Walbec, whom he reports to be very skilful men; and that if her Grace thought fit to have any of them, the Queen's Highness is pleased that I should give orders that one or the other should repair hither for the purpose. To which she said:

"Well now I do perceive that my Lord Chamberlain's offer to me in the Tower upon my like request, which was in respect of my health, that I should have the repair of such as by me should be named, was not with the intent of speeding my request, but rather to

know whom I would name, whereof I should be sure to fail, but as for your sending for any of the men named, I am not minded to make any stranger privy to the state of my body, but commit it to God."

Yesterday I went to hear Mass in her Grace's chamber, which being ended, in the time of doing my duty, thinking to have departed from her Grace, she called me and asked whether I had heard of any answer that was, or should be, made by the Queen's Majesty to her late letters; upon which occasion, fitly as I took it, I made answer to her Grace that I had to declare to her an answer on behalf of the Queen's Majesty, whensoever she should command me.

"Let it be even now," said her Grace.

"If you will," I answered. "Because I was fearful of misreporting, therefore I have scribbled it as well as I can with my own hand, if you will give me leave to fetch it."

And being ready to go into her Grace with it, I received word from her by one of the Queen's Majesty's women, to stay till her Grace had dined, and then she would hear it. Within a mean pause after dinner she sent for me, and having Mr. Thomew in my company, who going with me into the outer chamber and there staying, I went in to her Grace and required her, if it so stood with her pleasure, that he might hear the doing of the message. She granted it, and I called him in, and [he] kneeling by with me, I read to her Grace my message, according to the effect of the Queen's Majesty's letter.[1] After once hearing of it she

[1] Sir Henry's report of the Queen's letter, as presented to Elizabeth, is included in "The Bedingfeld Papers." It is in the following terms:

"My Lords of the Queen Majesty's most honourable Council, by their letter bearing date from Farnham, the 25th of June, A°. 1554, authorized me to declare to your Grace by mouth, the effect of a letter sent by her Highness to me at that time, in answer to your Grace's late letters sent to Her Majesty; that is: In your Grace's letter, only arguments devised for your declaration in the matters your Grace has been charged withal by the voluntary confessions of divers persons, in which arguments you would seem to persuade her Highness that the testimony of those which have opened matters against your Grace were either not such as they are, or, being such, should have no credit. But as her Highness was most sorry at the beginning to have any occasion for

uttered certain words bewailing her own chance in that her Grace's letter had taken no better effect, and desired to hear it once again, which I did; and then her Grace said:

"I note especially, to my great discomfort (which I shall nevertheless willingly obey) that the Queen's Majesty is not pleased that I should molest her Highness with any more of my colourable letters, which, although they be termed colourable, yet, not offending the Queen's Majesty, I must say for myself that it was the plain truth, even as I desire to be saved before God Almighty, and so let it pass. Yet, Mr. Bedingfeld, if you think you may do so much for me, I would have you receive an answer which I would make to you touching your message, which I would at the least desire that my Lords of the Council might understand; that you would conceive it upon my words, and put it in writing, and let me hear it again, and if it be according to my meaning, so to pass it to my Lords for my better comfort in this my adversity."

To this I answered her Grace: "I pray you hold me excused, that I do not grant your request in the same."

suspicion, so when it appeared to Her Majesty that copies of your secret letters were found in the packets of the French ambassador, and that divers of the most notable traitors made their chief account on your Grace, her Highness, therefore, can hardly be brought to think that they would have presumed to do so except they had a more certain knowledge of your favour towards their unnatural conspiracy than is yet by your Grace confessed. And therefore, albeit her Highness, on her part, considering the matters which have been brought to Her Majesty's knowledge against your Grace, uses more clemency and favour towards your Grace than has been customary in like matters, yet your Grace's fair words cannot so much abuse her Highness but that she well understands how things have been wrought. Conspiracies are secretly practised, and things of that nature are many times judged by probable conjectures and other suspicions and arguments, where the plain truth may chance to fail. Even so wise Solomon judged who was the true mother of the child by the women's behaviour and words, when other proof failed and could not be had. Wherefore her Highness's pleasure is that she shall not be hereafter molested any more with such, your colourable letters, but wishes for you that it may please our Lord to grant you His grace that you may be towards God as you ought to be, and then your Grace shall the sooner be towards the Queen's Majesty as it becomes you to be."

Then she said, "Is it not likely that I shall be offered more than any prisoner was in the Tower; for the prisoners are suffered to open their mind to the Lieutenant, and he to declare the same unto the Council, and you refuse to do the like."

To this I answered her Grace, "Because there was a diversity where the Lieutenant did hear a prisoner declare matters touching his case, and should give notice thereof to the Council; and where the prisoners should, as it were, command the Lieutenant to do his message to the Council." Therefore I desired that her Grace would give me leave, with patience, not to agree to her desire herein, and so departed from her.

Yesterday morning again, about ten of the clock, in the time of her walk, she called me to her in the little garden, and said: "I remember yesterday you utterly refused to write on my behalf to my Lords of the Council, and therefore, if you continue in that mind still, I shall be in worse case than the worst prisoners in Newgate, for they are never gainsaid in the time of their imprisonment, by one friend or another, to have their cause opened and sued for, and this is and shall be such a conclusion to me that I must needs continue this life without all worldly hope, wholly resting in the truth of my cause, which will be opened before God; arming myself, against whatsoever shall happen, to remain the Queen's true subject, as I have done during my life. It waxes wet, and therefore I will depart to my lodging again"; and so she did.

This much concerning her Grace I thought it my duty to give your Lordships advertisement of, to be considered as it shall please your honours; clearly omitting any part of the message and suit which my Lady's Grace would have me take upon me, and shall so do unless I have the Queen's Majesty's warrant or your Lordships' for the same.

As touching the state of the country, it is in very good quiet to the outward appearance, and as far as I can learn from Sir John Browne, Sheriff, Sir Leonard

Chamberlain, or Sir William Rainsford, who has his letter to give his attendance upon the Queen's Majesty. So that in the time of most peril I shall want his comfortable aid, if any attempt happen to be made towards the charge of the Queen's Majesty here remaining; and I certainly learn that his absence shall, as it were, open a gap to some persons, not much to be trusted, of Gloucestershire. If your Lordships do not release him, then I have received as much help at his hands as I can.

In a late secret meeting between Sir Leonard Chamberlain and me, in talk he remembered and said, "I heard of a late meeting between William Crudge, servant to the late Duke of Suffolk, and Verney, my Lady Grace's servant, here at the sign of the Bull in Woodstock; and, by the Mass," said he, "it cannot be for good, for if there be any practice of ill, within all England, this Verney is privy to it, and the other as meet an instrument for such purpose as can be." Parry, her Cofferer, lies at the same sign of the Bull, a marvellous colourable place to practise in, and by my secret espial I am given to understand that since his coming hither with those that remain with him, daily there has repaired to him to the number of forty persons in his own livery, besides the daily repair of my Lady Grace's servants, being many more than have cause to repair thither for any provision. I have delivered to the bearer hereof the bills of two serving men which were commanded to bring presents hither upon your command, to be shown together, with other matters by mouth to be declared. And so, as the Queen's poor servant and beadsman, I commend your Lordships to our Lord Almighty.

Postscript.—My Lords, it has come to my knowledge by divers credible and worshipful persons, that the remaining of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford in such sort as they do, has done no small hurt in these parts, even among those who were known to be good before.

The postscript to the last letter relates to the imprisonment at Oxford of Archbishop Cranmer and the Bishops of London and Worcester, who in March, 1554, were sent from the Tower—to which they had been committed on Mary's accession—to defend their Protestant views before the leading divines of the University. They were all declared to have been defeated in the disputation, and condemned as obstinate heretics to be burned at the stake. The authority of the Pope, however, had not been formally re-established in England, and all three were sent back to Bocardo, the common gaol at Oxford, where they remained until October of the following year, when, after a second trial, Ridley and Latimer were burned to death opposite Balliol College. We all know the words of brave old Latimer as he was led out to die: "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man, for we shall this day light such a candle in England as by God's grace shall never be put out." Cranmer witnessed their martyrdom from his prison, and five months later suffered the same fate, retracting all the recantations with which he had hoped to save his life, and atoning for his former weakness by the calm courage which enabled him to thrust his right hand into the flame—"Oh, this unworthy hand!"—and hold it there till it was consumed. Bedingfeld's concern in the situation at Oxford arose from his responsibilities as guardian of the peace in all the country surrounding Woodstock, Oxford being only about eight miles away. It was partly for this reason that Mary, in her next letter, granted him permission occasionally to leave the castle "when yourself shall think convenient," but this was only to be in the daytime, and partly for his health's sake. No mention is made of Elizabeth's health in this connexion:

QUEEN MARY TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

FARNHAM CASTLE, *July* 7, 1554.

Mary, the Queen.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well; and where we understand that by our instructions lately given to you, you do continually make your personal

abode in that, our house of Woodstock, without removing from thence at any time, which thing might, peradventure, in continuance be both some danger to your health and be occasion also that you shall not be so well able to understand the state of the country thereabouts as otherwise you might, we let you wit that in consideration thereof, we are pleased you may at any time when yourself shall think convenient, make your repair from out of our said house, leaving one of your brethren to look to your charge, and see to the good governance of the house in your absence. So as, nevertheless, you return back again yourself at night, for the better looking to your said charge. And for your better ease and recreation, we are in like manner pleased that you and your brethren may at your liberties hawk for your pastime at the partridge, or hunt the hare, within that our manor of Woodstock, or any of our grounds adjoining the same, from time to time when you shall think most convenient; and that also you may, if you shall so think good, cause your wife to be sent for, and to remain there with you as long as yourself shall think meet.

On July 30—five days after the marriage of Philip and Mary at Winchester—Bedingfeld sent another appeal to the Council on Elizabeth's behalf, beseeching them "to consider her woeful case":

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *July* 30, 1554.

My Lady Elizabeth's Grace, after Mass was done this present day, willed and required me to conceive a suit of hers to be made unto your Lordships, to be means for her unto the Queen's Highness; which I have done, and herein enclosed it, sealed and directed to the Queen's Majesty, according to your command expressed in your letters dated at Farnham, the 7th

of July, whereunto I required her to put her sign in pledge that it was agreeable to her mind. . . . If it shall be determined by the Queen's Highness, and you, my Lords, that this great Lady shall remain in this house, then of necessity must there be reparation done both to the covering of the house in lead and slate, and especially in glass and casements, or else neither she, nor any that attend upon her, shall be able to abide for cold, and the Cofferer makes me believe that he can make no provision for wood here for any money, without your Lordships' help.

"My Lady Elizabeth's suit."

My Lady Elizabeth, this present 30th of July, required me to make report of her Grace's mind as her suit to your honours to be means to the Queen's Majesty on her behalf to this effect. To beseech your Lordships all to consider her woeful case, that being but once licensed to write as an humble suitor unto the Queen's Highness, and received thereby no such comfort as she hoped to have done, but to her further discomfort, in a message by me opened, that it was the Queen's pleasure [not] to be any more molested with her Grace's letters; that it may please the same, and that upon very pity, considering her long imprisonment and restraint of liberty, either to charge her with special matters to be answered unto and tried, or to grant her liberty to come into her Highness's presence, which she says she would not desire were it not that she knows herself to be clear, even before God, in her allegiance. And if also by your good mediation she might not enjoy the Queen's Highness's most gracious favour, without any scruples or suspicions of her troth, she had rather willingly suffer this that she does, and much more, than Her Majesty should in any case be troubled or disquieted touching her, whose honour, surety, and preservation she desires above all things in this world. Requiring me further to move chiefly as many of you, my Lords, as were [of the] Council

party and privy to the execution of the will of the King's Majesty, her father, to further this, her Grace's abovesaid suit. And if neither of these two, her suits, may be obtained by your Lordships for her, that then it might please the Queen's Highness to grant that some of you, my Lords, may have leave to repair hither unto her, and to receive her suits of her own mouth, to be opened. Whereby she may take relief not to think herself utterly desolate of all refuge in this world.

The Council's reply came from Windsor, whither the Court had proceeded after the wedding festivities at Winchester:

THE COUNCIL TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WINDSOR, *August* 7, 1554.

After our hearty commendations. The Queen's Highness has seen your letters, with such other matter as you sent to Her Majesty by the same, which her Highness will take a time to consider, and at convenient leisure make such answer thereunto as shall be necessary. And as touching your request to be remembered with money, Her Majesty will cause order to be taken within these eight or ten days for your satisfaction in that behalf as appertains. As to the copy of the letter that you sent hither, her Highness will in like manner take a time to consider the same, and thereupon give such order for the quietness of your service as you shall have cause to rest satisfied, and so we bid you farewell right heartily.

Elizabeth, if we are to accept as genuine the letter with which Leti credits her—written, as will be seen, some three months later—was unaware of the great doings at Court in connexion with her sister's marriage. This may have accounted for her annoyance at not receiving an earlier

answer to her last appeal to the Council, as described in Bedingfeld's next letter from Woodstock:

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *August* 15, 1554.

My humble duty to your honourable Lordships remembered; These shall be to beseech the same that the bearer hereof (my brother Edmund) may receive money, according to your late determination by your letters of the 7th of this present, for the dispatches or continuance of the Queen's Majesty's soldiers here, as it shall stand with the pleasure of her Highness and you, my Lords.

Upon Friday last, my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, in the time of her walk in the over garden here in the forenoon of the same day, said to me, "I have very slow speed in the answer of any of my suits, and I know it is ever so when there is not one appointed to give daily attendance in suit-making for answer; and therefore," says she, "I pray you let me send a servant of my own, to whom I will give the message in your hearing that he shall do by my command, and this I think," said she, "is not against the order and service appointed unto you." To which I answered, requiring her Grace to be contented, for I neither could nor would assent to any such request.

"Then," said she, "I am at a marvellous afterdele [disadvantage], for I have known that the wife has been received to sue for her husband; the kinsman, friend, or servant for them that have been in the case I now am, and never denied." To that I answered, "I, myself, am of small experience in such cases. But, notwithstanding, I trust it shall not be long before my Lords of the Council will remember your suit and answer the same." And so her Grace ended.

This country remains at this day in very good quiet, as far as I can hear, saving some very simple persons have uttered certain words seditiously, which has been by and by opened unto the Justices of the

Peace, who are very diligent in the searching out and punishing of the same. At my last sending to your Lordships by my brother Anthony, I advised you of certain players, and of one Heywood, which wrote a seditious letter at Coventry, and there remains in prison. If it might please your Lordships to determine your order to the commissioners and other officers touching the same, it should be much comfort to them in this service, and terror to the like offenders. I do here say that there is great waste upon this great Lady's possessions: the report thereof is not so credible that I dare say it is so, but I thought it my duty to give you advertisement, that it may be inquired of. Thus commending your Lordships to our Lord Almighty, I take my leave of the same.

Seeing that nothing was to be gained by petulant outbursts against her governor, Elizabeth changed her tactics. Having made confession she solemnly declared her innocence, and then received the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of Rome:

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *September* 14, 1554.

After my humble duty to your Lordships remembered, this shall be to advertise you that, the 26th day of August last past, my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, after her confession, as her Chaplain declared to me, in Catholic form, did receive the most comfortable Sacrament. And before her Grace went to the receipt thereof she called mistress Thomew, the Queen's Majesty's woman, and me, and we, kneeling before her Grace, not knowing what her Grace meant by the same, she opened her mind by these words, protesting that her Grace, in all her life had done nothing, nor intended to do, that was perilous to the person of the Queen's Highness or the Commonwealth of this Realm, as God, to whose mercy she

then minded to commit herself, was judge ; and that done, received.

At divers times since her Grace has commanded me to write to you, my Lords, which nevertheless was first ordered as your pleasure was, her Grace has called upon me for answer, laying to my charge that because I will not assent that her Grace may write herself to you, my Lords, and send the same by a servant of her own that is not daily commanded to wait upon her Grace, which servant, her Grace's device is, should receive her letter and message of my report and deliver it only, without speaking with her Grace, that was the only cause why she had no manner of answer to her suit, and her Grace says she is sure your Lordships will smile in your sleeves when you know this, my scrupulousness. Whereunto I made answer that I had rather adventure to bear your displeasures for that than for presumption, and so ended. Wherefore I beseech your Lordships to return your pleasures how I shall demean myself in answering this matter upon the coming home of this messenger.

I made suit unto your Lordships in my latter letter for the glazing and slating of the lodgings, which of necessity are to be occupied for the time of this great Lady's abode here, wherein also I pray your Lordships give knowledge.

There was never a better means of touching Mary's heart than by way of religion, and Elizabeth's new show of zeal bore immediate fruit. The reply came from the Council on the following day from Hampton Court, where the Queen and Philip were remaining in retirement after their public entry into London :

THE COUNCIL TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

HAMPTON COURT, *September* 15, 1554.

Mr. Bedingfeld, after our right hearty commendations : The Queen's Majesty, having seen your letters

of the 14th of this month addressed to us, takes your advertisement in very good part, and is very glad that the Lady Elizabeth's Grace does so well conform herself in the receiving of the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. And touching her request to write to us by some extraordinary servant of her own, the Queen's Majesty is pleased that, yourself receiving the letters and enclosing the same within your own, may so address the said servant with them to us, and you shall receive Her Majesty's pleasure for answer. Touching the tiling and glassing of that house, Her Majesty is pleased the same shall be forthwith repaired in places necessary; for the doing whereof, if we may know what the charge will be, we will procure money to be sent for doing the same. And thus we bid you farewell most heartily.

There is another revelation of the real Elizabeth in Bedingfeld's next letter. Having waited so long for the Council's permission to send a letter by one of her own servants, she proceeded to treat it with indifference, and, when she did deign to write, forced Bedingfeld—the man who is accused of treating her with systematic harshness—again to act as her secretary. In keeping his prisoner so strictly without pens and paper Bedingfeld, it should be remembered, was only carrying out his instructions to prevent her from sending any "letter or token" without his permission:

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *September* 20 [*sic*], 1554.[1]

Upon the return of my brother Edmund with your honourable letters, dated at Hampton Court, the 15th of this present month, I did take knowledge that your

[1] Canon Manning must have been mistaken in giving September 20 as the date of this letter. Elizabeth's letter to the Council, as Bedingfeld himself shows, was not finished until the 25th.

Lordships had obtained of the Queen's Majesty that my Lady Elizabeth's Grace might write to your Lordships, delivering the same unto me to be addressed to your honours, enclosed in my letter, by one of her Grace's extraordinary servants; whereupon, Monday, being the 17th day, in the forenoon of the same, I declared that your Lordships had granted her Grace's late desire in form above said, which was glad tidings as I took it; yet her Grace, at that time, did neither command me to prepare things for her to write with, nor named who should be her messenger: so I departed. Her Grace never spoke word of that matter more till the Sunday following, in the time of her walk in the afternoon; at which time her Grace commanded to prepare her pen and ink and paper against the next day; which I did.

Upon Monday, in the morning, her Grace sent mistress Morton, the Queen Highness's woman, for the same; to whom I delivered a standish, with five pens, two sheets of fine paper, and one coarse sheet, enclosing the same with this request to the said mistress Morton: that she should make suit to my Lady's Grace on my behalf, that it would please her Grace not to use the same but in the sight of mistress Thomew or her. And the same mistress Morton did this, and brought me word her Grace had consented to my said suit; and that I should also send word to Francis Verney, her Grace's ordinary servant, lying in the town of Woodstock with her Cofferer, to be messenger; where I perceive they use as much privy conference to her Grace and from her as they list, even as I advised you long ago; the house also being a common inn wherein they do lie, and they so politic as they are I can get no knowledge of their doings by any espial: this only I am sure of, they meet not together in person.

At the afternoon, in her Grace's going to walk, I heard her say she had such pain in her head that she could write no more that day. Tuesday, in the morning, as I learned of mistress Morton, she washed

her head. At afternoon of the same day, after three of the clock, her Grace sent for me by mistress Thomew, and at my awaiting upon her she then commanded me to write the letter her Grace had written, saying she never wrote to your Lordships but by a secretary "and I am not suffered at this time to have one, therefore you must needs do it." I prayed her Grace to pardon me for that I was not able; yet, at her Grace's importunate command and desire, I wrote as she read unto me of her hand-writing, which she retains as a minute. And after it was dated her Grace did write with her own hand; but what, God knows: that done, her Grace commanded me to make it up, and then would have sealed it, but, being very cold, she required mistress Morton to do it, and commanded me to write the direction, so delivering it to me to be sent to Verney to convey to the Lord Treasurer and my Lord Chamberlain on the Queen's Majesty's side, which I left undone. God knows how it grieves me that I am thus unable to serve the Queen's Majesty and you, my Lords, by reason of this, my evil writing, trusting her Highness will pardon my rudeness, and you, my Lords, also. I took again from my Lady Elizabeth's Grace the remainder of the paper, the standish, and the pens, wanting one, and so departed from her Grace.

I sent my brother Edmund, the day after his return from your Lordships, to Sir William Rainsford's to declare to him the message you delivered to be done by mouth: being from home, at my Lord Williams', it was the latter end of that week before he had knowledge of your pleasure; whereupon he has answered by his letter that he will do the best he can to accomplish your command, but, when he wrote, he knew not then where the same men had gone. The rest of the Queen's Majesty's service here remains in quiet estate at the writing hereof as far as I do hear. Thus, praying your Lordships all to accept the remembrance of my bounden duty, I

commit the same to our Lord Almighty, and His most blessed tuition.

We cannot find a better place than this to include the two other Woodstock letters from Elizabeth—outside the "Bedingfeld Papers"—to which we have already alluded. There is no date to either of them, and Nichols, who prints the first letter in his "Progresses," merely states that it is "taken from a MS.," and that it "was evidently written in 1554, while the Princess was in gentle durance at Woodstock." The Vice-Chamberlain, to whom it was addressed, was Sir Henry Jerningham—not Sir Francis Jerningham; or Jernegan, as stated by Nichols—who, like Bedingfeld, was among the earliest adherents of Mary on the death of Edward VI., rallying round her with forces raised on her behalf in Norfolk or Suffolk. Jerningham also played a leading part in suppressing the Wyatt rebellion in the following year and remained in Mary's favour throughout her reign. It is a curious commentary on Elizabeth's avowal towards the end of the following letter to note that on her accession she deprived him of his seat on the Privy Council—whereupon he seems to have disappeared from public life:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE VICE-CHAMBERLAIN.

[Nichols's "*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*"]

Good Mr. Vice Chamberlain,—This messenger, your servant, having given me some little warning to wait on you, I have ventured to trouble you with my ill-written letter, false English, and matter as little to be regarded as the profession of her good will that wrote it, who is, herself, little or nothing worth. Nevertheless, when I remember your courtesies offered, even then when fortune most showed her despite against me, I am persuaded a certain planet reigned, that then assured me, and so doth still, that I should receive some good of you, though the storms of my ill fortune having shed since many drops untimely for me, to gather fruit of your favour. I have nothing to present you with, but the thought of

the heart by the pen's descriptions, in what thankful manner I take your good and kindly offer to do me pleasure, holding that opinion of your great virtue that I have ever conceived, which is, that you love faithful plain dealing, and hate dissimulation. I am grievously sorry for Her Majesty's heavy displeasure, so kindled against me, as I hear it is. If God will make my prayers worthy to enter into His ears, I will, with all lowliness of mind, incessantly beseech Him to prosper her estate; and for my offence, which she supposeth to be heinous in her judgment, and instantly deserving her disfavour, I appeal to the Highest, that is best able to look into the bottom of my heart, whether my innocency have not always dreaded only to conceive so much as an ill thought of her. God bless her, and give me grace to serve Him, that by His goodness it may plainly appear unto her how unjustly I am afflicted with her disgrace and indignation. It shall make me less careful than I have been (but only for duty's sake) for that life of courting: but Countrywoman, or Courtier, as long as Mr. Vice Chamberlain will do me the honour to judge me worthy to be esteemed an honest poor friend, I will ever, with all honour that any tongue can express, think I do right to myself in giving you that which your virtue deserveth. Yours, as ever vowed during life, ELIZABETH, *Prisoner.*

Postscript.—I hope, Sir, that if a poor pilgrim, wandering in the Park with a long bow, shoot at rovers and hit a buck where the sign is, and die of it, you will not make it a pretended murder.

The second letter, as given by Leti, is translated as follows:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO QUEEN MARY.

Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

Madame,—If your Majesty were only aware of my unhappy condition, I know that you would be touched

by it, and that you would hasten to bring me some comfort. Were I guilty of the slightest offence against the honour, authority, and administration of your Majesty, I should be consoled by the thought that my troubles were a just punishment, but, innocent and loyal as I am, I am overwhelmed by my misfortunes. You may judge how closely I am confined when I inform your Majesty that I only heard three days ago of your happy marriage with His Serene Highness Prince Philip, which took place several months ago;[1] and for this happy news I am indebted to the Governor Benefield [Bedingfeld]. I pray God that He may grant your Majesty a long and happy life, and that he will bless your marriage and inspire you with compassion for me. I have no doubt that many persons obtained favour and pardon on the occasion of your marriage; the doors of Justice and Clemency have only remained closed against the unhappy daughter of Henry VIII. If the nearness of our relationship does not touch your Majesty, I would appeal to your queenly generosity, and to the greatness of your soul.

The above contribution is among the most questionable letters in Leti's work. There is no reference to it in the "Bedingfeld Papers," but the same objection may be raised in regard to the letter printed by Nichols. It is possible, however, that the Nichols letter relates to Elizabeth's later residence at Hatfield, when she was more or less in the keeping of Sir Thomas Pope. It is not credible that Elizabeth, as stated in the Leti letter, did not hear of the marriage of Mary and Philip until several months after it had taken place, and it is disproved by the remark in Bedingfeld's next letter that immediately after the royal wedding prayers were said at Woodstock for the King and Queen together, to which the Princess never answered word "that could be heard or perceived by any means":

[1] Philip and Mary were married at Winchester on July 25, 1554.

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO QUEEN MARY.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *October* 4, 1554.

May it please your Highness to be advised that this great Lady, upon whose person you have commanded my attendance, is, and has been, in quiet state for the health of her body this month or five weeks; and, of her mind, declares nothing outwardly, by word or deed, that I can come to the knowledge of, but all tending to the hope, she says, she has of your clemency and mercy towards her. Marry, against my Lords of your most honourable Council I have heard her speak words that declare she has conceived great unkindness in them, if her meaning goes with her words, whereof God only is Judge. Her Chaplain, in my Lord Chamberlain's time, did say the suffrages in English, which, and all other things done in his time, have been observed as my precedent and great help in this, your Majesty's service, wherein I was utterly inexpert; and in these suffrages all is said, saving the words touching the Bishop of Rome.[1] And my Lady Elizabeth's Grace did say the same with her Chaplain, so that all that did wait heard the words spoken plainly after the priest. Since your most noble marriage, immediately after which the same, her Chaplain, according to his most bounden duty, did pray for the King and your Majesty together, her Grace has never answered word to that article that could be heard or perceived by any means, being marked of very purpose by your Highness's woman, mistress Morton, and me. My bounden service to your Majesty is just cause to signify this scruple to be weighed by your most noble consideration. So,

[1] The words alluded to are those occurring in the Litany of the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552, which were left out in the edition of 1559: "From all sedition and privy-conspiracy, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy; from hardness of heart and contempt of Thy Word and Commandment."—*Manning.*

beseeching our Lord Almighty to grant such a joy to come to all true Englishmen by the progeny of your excellent person that we may, as holy Simeon did for the birth of Christ, praise God for the same, I humbly take my leave of your Highness.

From your house of Woodstock, the 4th of October, in the second, and first of the King's and your most prosperous reign.

The remaining letters from the "Bedingfeld Papers"—except perhaps the last—may be left to speak for themselves. Until November, when Bedingfeld was summoned to Court, he is made repeatedly, if grudgingly, to write on Elizabeth's behalf to the Council. Nothing came of these applications, however, except fresh words of reproach from his captive—"too long to write," he says, almost pathetically, on one occasion. Perhaps this was the occasion when, according to Heywood, Elizabeth lost her temper and called him "her gaoler," whereupon Bedingfeld is said to have knelt to her, beseeching her "not to give him that harsh name, for he was one of her officers appointed to serve her, and guard her from the dangers by which she was beset." The letters themselves, with their continuous undercurrent of doubt and anxiety, and their pitiful appeals for money long overdue, show how difficult and thankless was Bedingfeld's task throughout the Woodstock imprisonment. One cannot help sympathising with him when he writes to the Council on October 21 that "the discharge of this my service . . . . were the joyfullest tidings that ever came to me, as our Lord Almighty knows":

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *October* 4, 1554.

May it please your honourable Lordships to be advised that the last day of September now past, the King and Queen's Majesty's soldiers serving here have been unpaid for one whole month, and they owe

to the poor folk of Woodstock for their board and victualling, for the most part, for the like time; which, being very poor persons, have given warning to the soldiers that without ready money they neither can nor will provide to victual them any longer. Whereupon I have been driven to entreat with them by the best means I can, till money may be obtained: this very necessity enforces my suit to your honours, that it may please the same to give order for money. Francis Verney was dispatched from hence with my Lady Elizabeth's letters, enclosed as your Lordships commanded, on Wednesday, in the morning, being the 26th day of September last; to whom I delivered the estimate for the reparations I sent to you for in my former letters, trusting your Lordships will take a way for that also. My Lady's Grace's Chaplain, serving here, did of himself declare to me that there had come to his knowledge that my Lord of London [Bishop Bonner] had set forth a book in print containing the spiritual order of his diocese, in which one article is that all divine service should be sung or said in the Latin tongue. "Whereupon," says he, "being willing to obey, I pray you let me know your opinion whether I shall cease to say the suffrages in English, which I have been accustomed to say before my Lady's Grace twice a week, and have done since the coming of her to the Tower first." I answered, "You shall know shortly." Which, coming from your Lordships, shall be done as you command. There are certain of her Grace's servants that being many times in a generality moved to come to divine service, do it not at any time. I pray God all the rest does not observe from form only, except the Chaplain. If it contented you, with the King and Queen's licence, to grant that they might be visited with some learned men, both to preach and talk with them in the matter of their religion, I would trust in God they should become either better persuaded in that point, or, at the least way, more open to the world what they are. I trust your Lordships do consider that the nights that shall

be from henceforth are long and cold, and many of them wet; whereby the poor soldiers shall not be able to continue their watch about this house standing upon the hill, without they may be suffered to keep the same within the gate; but how that will stand well to all other purpose, I know not. And trusting that God, the King and Queen's Majesty, with your honourable advice, shall better dispose for us than we can for ourselves, I commend the same to His most blessed tuition, and so take my leave of you.

QUEEN MARY TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WESTMINSTER PALACE, *October* 6, 1554.

Mary, the Queen.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit we have received your letters of the 4th of this month, whereby, as well as by your several letters addressed unto our Privy Council, we perceive the continuance of your diligence in the charge committed unto you; for the which, as we do give our hearty thanks, so do we require you to use the same henceforth according to the trust reposed in you, wherein ye shall do us acceptable service. And whereas hitherto the Lady Elizabeth has been suffered (as ye know) to use the suffrages and Litany in English, forasmuch as she has (as we perceive from your letters) shown herself conformable enough in all other things, which we are glad to understand, so she should in this matter be induced to stand content with the service used in our own Chapel and throughout our Realm, and no more to use the said suffrages and Litany in English, but in Latin, according to the ancient and laudable custom of the Church; we have thought meet to require you to move it on our behalf to her, and to travail with her therein the best you can, advising what she shall answer thereunto that we may thereupon take such further order as shall be convenient. And where we do perceive by your letters

unto our Privy Council that you require that there may be some reparations made upon that house, because we understand that the cost thereof will not be great, and considering that the time of the year for that purpose draws fast away, we let you wit our pleasure is you do cause the said reparations to be gone in hand withal by such workmen as you can get thereabouts, whose charge, with the rest of the cost that the said work shall amount to, we shall, upon certificate thereof from you, give order to be paid accordingly.

Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the 6th of October, the first and second year of our Reign.

QUEEN MARY TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WESTMINSTER PALACE, *October* 7, 1554.

Mary, the Queen.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you wit that the letters of the Lady Elizabeth, of the 25th of September last past, written with your hand and addressed by her servant Verney to our Council, wherefore the same was fast sewn without any endorsement on the outside [when] first brought to our hands; which we have considered and do find somewhat strange, for where she thinks that her answer to the matters objected, and former letters, have been kept from our knowledge, we marvel upon what ground she has considered so ill an opinion of our Council, of whom no one has (to our knowledge) given her such cause. If her former answers might so well have satisfied indifferent ears as it seems to satisfy her own opinion, she might have been well assured to have fully enjoyed our favour before a great many others, which upon their submission have tasted thereof. You may therefore declare unto her those of our letters, signifying that we are not unmindful of her

cause, and, as good occasion shall proceed from herself in deeds, so will we have such further consideration of her as may stand with her honour and the good order of our Realm.

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO QUEEN MARY.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *October* 16, 1554.

According to your Highness's most gracious command, contained in your letters of the 6th of this present, to move my Lady Elizabeth no more to use the suffrages and Litany in English, but Latin, after the ancient and laudable custom of the Church, and to advise your Majesty of her answer in the same; on your Highness's behalf I moved it to her the 13th of this present month, whose answer I received in these words:

"Mr. Bedingfeld, knowing this to be the Queen's Majesty's pleasure by you reported, I shall, with all my heart, obey the same from henceforth; and I will tell you," said she, "upon what occasion it was first said before me. After my coming to the Tower in this my trouble, my Lady Grey [Lady Anne Grey] being there with me, within a few days after chanced to have an English Primer in her hand, which was set forth in the days of the King, my father, and I asked her what book it was, and she told me it was that book." And then, as she said, the same Lady Grey at that time did say unto her these words: "And please it your Grace, methinks the suffrages set forth in this book were a goodly prayer to be used before your Grace by your Chaplain in the time of this, your adversity." To which, she said she then answered: "I know the Queen's Majesty does not use it, and therefore, unless my Lord Chamberlain will assent to it, it shall not be used for me." My Lady Grey did say to that again that she thought my said Lord, being moved therein, would not say nay to it, "Because it was used in the days of the King, your most noble

father." Whereupon, she said, she asked my said Lord the question, and, upon his assent at that time, has used it ever since.

The next day, being Sunday, her Chaplain told me that she had, the same day, commanded him no more to say the said Litany, in these words: "Sir William, you may no more say the suffrages in English." By force of your Highness's warrant mentioned in the latter end of your letters, I have, and shall cause, the reparations therein remembered to be done shortly. With God's grace, I beseech Him to grant, for His infinite mercy's sake, our most dread and sovereign Lady, to be long and many years in His most blessed tuition.

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *October* 20, 1554.

After my humble duty to your honours remembered: this shall be even so to desire the same that the bearer hereof, my brother Anthony, may revive my suit made for money by my letter, bearing date the fourth of this present month, for of truth since that time I have been driven to lend certain money of my own to the poorest sort of the victuallers of Woodstock, or else [they] had not been able to have victualled the Queen's Majesty's soldiers thus long. And therefore this, their manifest necessity, enforces me to trouble you with often suit for the same.

Mr. Parry, this great Lady's cofferer, does intend to keep his audit here in this town at the inn where he lies, and upon that colour these eight or ten days last past divers of her servants have repaired to this, the Queen's Highness's house, seeking occasion to speak with their fellows, which, being answered that they might not do, departed immediately; and thereupon I sent incontinently to the same Mr. Parry, declaring their repair to his house. And he answered him that went of that message, that he had warned

all her Grace's servants, not being appointed to wait daily upon their allegiance, not to come any nearer this house than his lodging, and was, as he said, for his own part, sorry they should so misuse themselves; promising to do as much as lies in him that it shall no more be so. I pray your Lordships let me know your pleasures how to use them if they happen to make the like attempt after this second warning. . . .

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *October* 21, 1554.

My humble duty unto your honourable Lordships remembered: this shall be to advertise the same that this present 21st of October, my Lady Elizabeth's Grace commanded me to prepare things necessary for her to write to your Lordships; whereupon I took occasion to declare unto her Grace that the express words of your honourable letters, dated at Hampton Court, the 15th of September, did not bear that the Queen's Majesty was pleased that her Grace, upon any occasion from time to time moving, and as often as it pleased her, might write to you. And therefore I prayed her Grace to stay her determination therein until I might signify this, my doubt, to your Lordships, and receive your full and plain determinations therein for my discharge: which, my said suit, she took in so ill part that her Grace, of displeasure therein, did utter me more words of reproach of this, my service about her by the Queen's Highness's commandment, than ever I heard her speak before: too long to write. At afternoon her Grace sent for me by mistress Thomew again, and then, in a more quiet sort, required me to write to your Honours and thereby to desire the same to be means for her unto the Queen's Highness to grant that Doctors Wendy, Owen, and Huycke,[1] or two of them, may be licensed

[1] Robert Huycke, or Huicke, M.D., of Cambridge, afterwards physician to Queen Elizabeth, President of the College of Physicians, 1551, 1552, and 1564.

with convenient speed to repair hither, to minister unto her physic, bringing, of their own choice, one expert surgeon to let her Grace's blood, if the said doctors, or two of them, shall think it so good upon the views of her suit at their coming; to which three persons, or two of them, her Grace says she will commit all the privacies of her body, or else to no creatures alive, without the Queen's Highness's especial command to the contrary, which she trusts Her Majesty will not do. Her Grace desires that this, her suit, may have speedy answer, whereby she may enjoy this time of the year [which is] apt for this aforesaid purpose. Most heartily desiring your Honours to return, with the same, your absolute opinions to the first matter, which shall be done accordingly with our Lord's leave and help to understand your pleasures and commands aright; which, this great Lady says, may have good meaning in me, but it lacks knowledge, experience, and all other accidents in such a service requisite, which I must needs confess: the help only here rests in God and the Queen's Majesty, with your honourable advice, from whence to receive the discharge of this, my service, without offence to the Queen's Majesty, or you, my good Lords, were the joyfullest tidings that ever came to me, as our Lord Almighty knows, to whom all secrets be hidden. And so leave to trouble your Honours with this rude writing.

QUEEN MARY TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WESTMINSTER PALACE, *October* 25, 1554.

Mary, the Queen.

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit we have seen your letters addressed to our Council the 22nd of this month, by the which we do well understand the answer made by you to the Lady Elizabeth concerning her sending unto our Council, which, your answer, we take in good part and are well pleased with the same.

And if there be any especial matter such as may seem requisite to be brought to our knowledge, she may use for declaration thereof unto us any one of our two physicians whom we do presently send unto her with a surgeon, according to her desire signified to our Council by your said letter.

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.[1]

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

[*November*, 1554.]

May it please your honourable Lords to understand that the 28th of October last past I received the Queen's most gracious letters, dated at her Palace of Westminster, the 25th of the same month, delivered into my hands by Doctors Owen and Wendy, which, together with her Highness's said letters, were sent hither with a surgeon, and came to this, her Highness's house, upon Sunday night, the day abovesaid; which two gentlemen, according to the warrant in the Queen's Majesty's letter contained, I brought to the presence of the Lady Elizabeth's Grace that night; that done, departed. And as I perceived by the next day it was agreed by them that she should be let blood, according to her late desire by my poor letters, which, by her own command, afterward I saw done by the bleeding of her arm. And at the afternoon, I was called so soon I saw her foot struck and bled; since which time, thanks be to God, as far as I see or hear, she does reasonably well, as that case requires And as to the rest of the matters in the Queen's Majesty's said letters remembered, I do not doubt I shall be sufficiently discharged by the report of her

[1] This letter corrects the statement of Foxe and others that it was on June 8 that the physicians attended Elizabeth. They made a "good report to the Queen and the Council of her Grace's behaviour and humbleness toward the Queen's Highness. Which Her Majesty hearing, took very thankfully; but the Bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the Queen they marvelled that she submitted not herself to Her Majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her Highness."

Highness's said physicians, which is agreeable to her most noble pleasure therein contained.

And now, my Lords, unless it pleases you to take order that my brother Anthony may receive money within these ten days now next following for the payment of the Queen's soldiers here, which is owing for nine weeks within four days, then I shall be in danger of a late bond which I have entered upon the receipt of four hundred pounds, employed here to the use aforesaid and to be repaid at London within ten days now next coming, which I have enterprised to be avoided of the daily exclaiming of the poor victuallers in Woodstock and for the better execution of the Queen's Majesty's service. Most humbly beseeching your Lordships the rather to tender this, my suit. Even so committing you all to our Lord Almighty, His most blessed tuition.

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD TO THE COUNCIL.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

WOODSTOCK, *November* 19, 1554.

After my humble duty to your honourable Lordships: this shall be to advertise the same that my Lady Elizabeth, at divers times since the Queen's Majesty's physicians were here with her, has required and commanded me to write to your Lordships, and, on her behalf, to desire the same to be means unto the Queen's Majesty that she may know her Highness's pleasure and answer to the late suit, which she was licensed to declare to the same physicians by her own mouth, by them to be reported to Her Majesty, with this further, that if her Highness will not of her graciousness grant the same, nor yet that she shall be no otherwise enlarged than she now is, that then your Honours would move that she might be appointed a place nearer to London, or her own house, to remain at during the Queen's pleasure, which, she says, if it shall not be thought good to be granted in respect of her person or charges, yet that

it may content you to do it upon pity of the poor men which are daily sore travailed with extreme long journeys this winter weather and days in making the carriage of provision to serve here, which also if great wet once fall, as in this time of the year it is accustomed for the most part to do, then shall no carts be able to come for waters from whence she has her said provision to be brought, which her Grace desires your Lordships in the way of charity to consider.

And I, my Lords, most heartily beseech your Lordships to dispatch my brother Anthony with money for the Queen's Majesty's soldiers, which, from the Queen, are owing at this present day for eleven weeks, which, for our Lord's love, I pray you give present order for, as well for the saving of my poor credit I advised your Lordships of in my last letters, as for the release of my countrymen. Even so taking my leave of you.

Now comes a long interval, due to Bedingfeld's absence at Court, whither he appears to have been summoned shortly after sending off his last despatch. There is nothing in the "Bedingfeld Papers" to denote whether the Council did anything in regard to Elizabeth's urgent requests. Bedingfeld was temporarily succeeded in command at Woodstock by one of his brothers, and much is made by the early historians of several alleged attempts which were now planned to take the royal captive's life, but in no instance is there satisfactory evidence that these tales are any more reliable than other suspicious anecdotes of Elizabeth's life at this troubled period, including the circumstantial account, repeated by Miss Strickland, and accepted by Canon Manning, of the visit which the Princess is said to have paid to London in order to spend Christmas with Mary and Philip at Court. No reference to such a visit can be found in the correspondence of the Ambassadors and others, in which such an event could scarcely have passed unnoticed, the few allusions to the banished Elizabeth at this period pointing rather the other way. It was well for Elizabeth that she was kept at this safe distance while the religious

storm was brewing in London. The Catholic faith was restored by Parliament at the end of November, to be followed by the formal reunion of the kingdom with Rome at the beginning of the new year; and on February 4, 1555, came the first of the Smithfield burnings with the martyrdom of John Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's. This barbarity was followed by similar persecutions in other parts of the country, and only ceased with Mary's death, by which time not far short of 300 men and women had been done to death—sent through the temporary fires of this world, as the saying was, to the eternal flames of hell.

Elizabeth at Woodstock meant to run no unnecessary risks at this critical period. "And now," says Camden, "the Princess Elizabeth, guiding herself like a ship in tempestuous weather, heard divine service after the Romish manner, was frequently confessed, and at the pressing instances of Cardinal Pole, and for fear of death, professed herself to be of the Roman Catholic religion." The Queen, doubting her sincerity, caused her to be questioned as to her belief in transubstantiation, on which Elizabeth is said to have replied in the following lines:

> Christ was the word that spake it,
> He took the bread and brake it;
> And what His word did make it
> That I believe and take it.

It was a saying—to quote Dr. Creighton's Life of Elizabeth—"the theological truth of which has become more apparent as controversy on the point has progressed." Elizabeth's imprisonment at Woodstock did not come to an end until the following April. How she relieved the tedium of all these months it is impossible to say, though her copy of a black-letter edition of St. Paul's Epistles, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with an embroidered cover worked by herself, bears eloquent testimony both to her skill with her needle and her peculiar powers of finding similes, the blank leaf being inscribed in Latin with the following lines:

"August.—I walk many times into the pleasant fields of the Holy Scriptures, where I pluck up the goodlisome herbs

of sentences by pruning, eat them at reading, chew them by musing, and lay them up at length in the high seat of memory, by gathering them together, that so having tasted their sweetness I may the less perceive the bitterness of this miserable life."

The following lines have also been preserved by Hentzner with the tradition that she wrote them on a shutter with a piece of charcoal:

Oh Fortune! how thy restless wavering state
Hath fraught with cares my troubled wit,
Witness this present prison, whither fate
Could bear me, and the joys I quit.
Thou caus'dst the guilty to be loosed
From bands wherein are innocents enclosed,
Causing the guiltless to be strait reserved,
And freeing those that death had well deserved;
But by her envy can be nothing wrought,
So God send to my foes all they have wrought,
Quoth Elizabeth, Prisoner.

The best-known anecdote of the Woodstock imprisonment is probably the pretty story told by Holinshed that the prisoner once expressed a wish to change fortunes with a milkmaid whom she saw singing merrily over her pail while milking the cows in Woodstock Park, for, said Elizabeth, "that milkmaid's lot was better than hers, and her life merrier." We cannot resist the temptation to quote a few verses from Shenstone's pleasant ballad on this incident:

Hark to yonder milk-maid singing
Clearly o'er the brimming pail;
Cowslips all around her springing
Sweetly paint the golden vale.

Never yet did courtly maiden
Move so sprightly, look so fair;
Never breast with jewels laden
Pour a song so void of care.

Would indulgent heav'n had granted
Me some rural damsel's part!
All the empire I had wanted
Then had been my shepherd's heart.

At length, after nearly a year's imprisonment, came the following summons from Queen Mary, a letter which ends the Woodstock chapter of Elizabeth's life, and brings the "Bedingfeld Papers" to a close:

QUEEN MARY TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

["*Bedingfeld Papers.*"]

HAMPTON COURT, *April* 17, 1555.

Mary, the Queen.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as we have resolved to have the Lady Elizabeth to repair nearer unto us, we do therefore pray and require you do declare unto her that our pleasure is she shall come to us to Hampton Court in your company with as much speed as you can have things in order for that purpose; wherein you shall not need to make any delay for calling of any other numbers than these, which are yourself and [those that] be now there attendant upon her. And of the time of your setting forward from thence, and by what day you shall think you may be there, we require you to advertise us by your letters with speed.

CHAPTER VI

PHILIP AND THE RIVAL SISTERS (1555–1556)

Philip pines for freedom—The responsibility for the religious persecutions—Elizabeth and the Prince of Savoy—Philip's private visit to Elizabeth at Hampton Court—Courtenay's departure for the Continent—Elizabeth and the Privy Councillors—Her interview with the Queen—Letters to Mary and Philip on her release—Mary's disappointed hopes of an heir—Elizabeth's change of residence—Philip's departure—Ensures Elizabeth's safety during his absence—Elizabeth retires to Hatfield—Death of Gardiner—Renewal of conspiracies against the Crown—Elizabeth implicated—Proposal to remove her to Spain—The King of France on the situation—Collapse of Dudley's plot—Sir Thomas Pope appointed Elizabeth's governor—Cleobury proclaims Elizabeth Queen—Elizabeth assures Mary of her loyalty—Sir Thomas Pope and Trinity College, Oxford—Ascham's pride in his Royal pupil.

MEANTIME, as Froude says in printing the following letter from the Granvelle Papers, Philip, "who had pined for freedom after six months' experience of his bride, was becoming unmanageably impatient." Renard's letter is a shrewd and illuminating commentary on the situation in England, and is valuable testimony also to the fact that the religious barbarities which began on the 4th of this memorable month of February, 1555, with the burning of Prebendary Rogers at Smithfield, were mainly due to the bigoted zeal of the English Catholics. The King himself cannot be held responsible for these enormities, for, as Major Martin Hume shows in his "Philip II.," his influence was exerted in the contrary direction. "Religious persecution was to him simply a matter of political expediency, and in the existing state of affairs it was the most injudicious thing in the world for the Catholic party to run to extremes":

SIMON RENARD TO PHILIP II.

[Froude's "*History of England.*" From the *Granvelle Papers.*]

February, 1555.

Your Majesty must remember the purpose for which you came to England. The French had secured the

Queen of Scotland for the Dauphin. They had afterwards made an alliance with the late King, and spared no pains to secure the support of England. To counteract their schemes, and to obtain a counter-advantage in the war, the Emperor, on the accession of the Queen, resolved that your Highness should marry her. Your Highness, it is true, might wish that she was more agreeable; but, on the other hand, she is infinitely virtuous, and, things being as they are, your Highness, like a magnanimous prince, must remember her condition, and exert yourself, so far as you conveniently may, to assist her in the management of the kingdom.

Your Highness must consider that your departure will be misrepresented, your enemies will speak of it as a flight rather than as a necessary absence. The French will be busy with their intrigues, and the Queen will not be pleased to lose you. The administration is in confusion, the divisions in the Council are more violent than ever. Religion is unsettled; the heretics take advantage of these late barbarous punishments to say that they are to be converted by fire, because their enemies are unable to convince them by reason or example. The orthodox clergy are still unreformed, and their scandalous conduct accords ill with the offices to which they are called.

Further, your Highness will do well to weigh the uncertainty of the succession. Should the Queen's pregnancy prove a mistake, the heretics will place their hopes in Elizabeth: and here you are in a difficulty whatever be done; for if Elizabeth be set aside, the crown will go to the Queen of Scots; if she succeed, she will restore heresy, and naturally attach herself to France. Some step must be taken about this before you leave the country; and you must satisfy the Queen that you will assist her in her general difficulties, as a good lord and husband ought to do.

The Council must be reformed, if possible, and the number diminished; those who remain must be invited

to renew their oaths to your Majesty. Regard must be had to the navy, and especially to the admiral Lord William Howard; and above all there must be no more of this barbarous precipitancy in putting heretics to death. The people must be won from their errors by gentleness and by better instruction. Except in cases of especial scandal, the bishops must not be permitted to irritate them by cruelty, and the Legate must see that a better example is set by the clergy themselves. The debts of the crown must be attended to; and your Majesty should endeavour to do something which will give you popularity with the masses. Before all things, attend to the succession.

You cannot set aside the dispositions of King Henry in favour of Elizabeth without danger of rebellion. To recognise her as heir presumptive without providing her with a husband, who can control her, will be perilous to the Queen. The mean course between the extremes, will be therefore, for your Highness to bring about her marriage with the Prince of Savoy. It will please the English, provided that her rights of inheritance are not interfered with; and although they will not go to war for our quarrel, they will not in that case be unwilling to assist in expelling the French from Piedmont.

If your Majesty approve, the thing can be done without delay. At all events, before you leave the country, you should see the Princess yourself; give her your advice to be faithful to her sister, and, on your part, promise that you will be her friend, and assist her where you can find opportunity.

The proposed marriage between Elizabeth and the Prince of Savoy, as we have already shown, had been more or less in the air since the first talk of Mary's Spanish match began to loosen the national hatred of all foreign influence. Young Emmanuel Philibert, Prince of Savoy, however, was Philip's first cousin, and could only be married to Elizabeth on the understanding that the Queen removed from her the stigma of illegitimacy, but, as Mary's sole means of doing this was

by pronouncing herself a bastard, the negotiations, for the time being, fell through. After the Wyatt rebellion and the increase of Philip's influence through his English marriage, the project was revived. The Prince himself was invited over, and on his arrival in December, 1554, found that Elizabeth's own residence, Somerset House—or Somerset Place as it was then called—had been placed at his disposal. But of Elizabeth herself the Queen was careful that he should not catch a glimpse, and he returned to Flanders no nearer to the match than when he came. Elizabeth, indeed, as stated in the preceding chapter, was still a captive at Woodstock. It is not impossible that it was the sage advice of Renard, contained in the last letter to the King, which brought about Elizabeth's removal—not release, as Michiel says in the letter which follows, for she was still a prisoner—from Woodstock to Hampton Court, where Philip himself made a point of seeing her before her audience with the Queen. Mary had arrived at Hampton Court at the beginning of the month in order to await there her expected confinement:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, TO THE DOGE AND SENATE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *April* 29, 1555.

By my letters of the 8th instant I wrote it was hoped soon to witness the release of the Lady Elizabeth, so I now inform you that to-day or to-morrow she will certainly be at the Court with their Majesties, whence for every good reason she will not depart until after the Queen's delivery, it being supposed that in case of Her Majesty's demise (from which may God preserve us), the King's safety and security would depend more on her than on any other person, not only from the hope of being able with the favour of the great men here, whom he has already gained and won by rewards, to succeed to the kingdom, by making a second marriage with her, it not being improbable that she also might spontaneously incline that way, as she is well acquainted with his proceedings and

character; but even should she, on the contrary, deny him this, yet by her presence here, and she being in his power, he would at least expect to secure himself better against any rising and danger to himself and his followers, he and they, under her favour, being enabled all of them to depart in safety and security. Besides this release, they moreover do not fail guaranteeing themselves against these dangers by other means, having not only desired all such of the great men here as are considered by them more true and faithful to their Majesties than the rest of the nobility, to assemble at the Court all their retainers (of whom, according to the custom of the country, they have generally a great plenty), but also given orders to raise (as adroitly and secretly as possible, for the avoidance of any display of fear, suspicion, or distrust) a large amount of troops, to be quartered in the neighbourhood of the Court, for their greater defence and security, and also to take thither a few pieces of artillery. This same precaution has been enjoined in this city, on account of the many idle rogues here, to whom, in case of any misfortune at the time of the delivery, the slightest cause would become the greatest possible for enabling them to sack the houses of the citizens and inhabitants and all men of wealth indiscriminately; so by night a good guard is kept both at the gates and throughout the body of the city; and patrolling it watchfully at all hours, they investigate and observe all that is doing.

The Earl of Devonshire, either from his own choice or by the counsel and suggestion of others, or rather command, is to depart hence to-day or to-morrow with all his retinue, and cross the Channel on his way to Brussels, to kiss the Emperor's hand in acknowledgment for the boon obtained from King Philip, the chief cause of his release, and to reside some time at that Court, not only for the purpose, as he says, of learning its manners and customs, knowing himself to be devoid of all experience, having been reared and educated in prison until now, but also that he may be

present and see the war, which, should the adjustment not be effected, will it is feared break out on those frontiers, it being his intention, after some little while, to go to Italy. Many persons assert that with this plausible pretext they colour the boundary assigned him, and the commutation of his imprisonment, though a person in his confidence has told me that the Chancellor assured him in the Queen's name that, provided he departed, he might return at his pleasure without further leave from Her Majesty, his absence at the moment of the delivery sufficing them. . . .

Elizabeth arrived at Hampton Court at the end of April—only a day after the departure of Courtenay for the Continent. According to the unpublished papers of Noailles ("Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères en Angleterre, 1553—1556") as disclosed by Wiesener in "La Jeunesse d'Elizabeth," King Philip introduced himself to his captive sister-in-law two or three days later. Elizabeth, says Noailles, had previously been instructed "by the Queen, her sister, to put on her richest garments for the visit of the said King"; but nothing, unfortunately, has transpired as to the result of this significant interview. To a certain extent the Venetian Ambassador in the following extract from his letter of May 6, 1555, confirms the statement of Noailles, though he was probably misinformed in stating that both their Majesties visited Elizabeth in this way. Mary does not appear to have seen her sister after their long separation until towards the end of May. Froude puts it at the beginning of July, but this, as Wiesener suggests, is the natural result of his earlier mistake in stating that Elizabeth did not arrive until June:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *May* 6, 1555.

. . . As written by me, the Lady Elizabeth came to the Court very privately, accompanied by three or four of her women, and as many more servants, but was neither met nor received by any one, and was placed in

the apartment of the Duke of Alva, where she lives in retirement, not having been seen by any one save once or twice by their Majesties, by private stairs. . . .

Elizabeth was still treated as a prisoner and was only permitted to receive a visit from her kinsman, Lord William Howard, after a fortnight's isolation. Probably, says J. B. Mullinger in the "Cambridge Modern History," "no period in Elizabeth's whole history was marked by more torturing doubt and anxiety." Through Lord William Howard she obtained an interview with Gardiner and three other members of the Privy Council, and addressed them—to quote Foxe's graphic narrative—in the following words:

"'My lords, I am glad to see you, for methinks I have been kept a great while from you, desolately alone. Wherefore I would entreat you to be a means to the King's and Queen's Majesties, that I may be delivered from my imprisonment, in which I have been kept a long time, as to you, my lords, is not unknown.' Gardiner, in reply, told her 'she must then confess her fault, and put herself on the Queen's mercy.' She replied, 'that rather than she would do so, she would lie in prison all her life, that she had never offended against the Queen, in thought, word, or deed, that she craved no mercy at Her Majesty's hand, but rather desired to put herself on the law.' The next day Gardiner and his colleagues came to her again, and Gardiner told her on his knee, 'that the Queen marvelled at her boldness in refusing to confess her offence, so that it might seem as if Her Majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her Grace.' 'Nay,' replied Elizabeth, 'she may, if it please her, punish me as she thinketh good.' 'Her Majesty willeth me to tell you,' retorted Gardiner, 'that you must tell another tale ere that you are set at liberty.' Elizabeth replied, 'that she had as lief be in prison, with honesty, as to be abroad suspected of Her Majesty,' adding, 'that which I have said I will stand to.' 'Then,' said Gardiner, 'your Grace hath the vantage of me and these lords, for your long and wrongful imprisonment.' 'What advantage I have you know,' replied Elizabeth; 'I seek no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me—but God forgive you and me also.'"

With that, adds Foxe, "the rest kneeled, desiring her Grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again." Heywood tells us that Elizabeth was so little resigned to her continued imprisonment that she had recourse to any available loophole for escape, never ceasing to send letters and petitions to her friends to urge their intervention on her behalf. Another anxious week passed. Mary, sick at heart, and learning that some of her "disordered" subjects were suffered to continue in their "erroneous and heretical opinions," sent a circular letter on May 24 urging the bishops to move faster with the persecutions, for thus, perhaps, she hoped to appease the wrath of God. And when, a week later, she sent for her sister at ten o'clock at night, Elizabeth, not unnaturally, thought that perhaps her own hour had come. Calling her attendants about her, she bade them pray for her, "for she could not tell them whether she would ever see them again." When the Princess entered the Queen's presence (continues Foxe) she fell on her knees, and protested, with streaming eyes, "her truth and loyalty to her sovereign Majesty, let whosoever assert the contrary!" Queen Mary replied, somewhat sharply, "You will not confess your offence, I see, but rather stand stoutly on your truth. I pray God your truth may become manifest!"—"If it is not," said the Princess, "I will look for neither favour nor pardon at your Majesty's hands."—"Well, then," said the Queen, "you stand so stiffly on your truth, belike you have been wrongfully punished?"—"I must not say so to your Majesty," replied Elizabeth.—"But you will report so to others, it seemeth," rejoined Mary.—"No, an' please your Majesty," replied the Princess. "I have borne, and must bear, the burden thereof; but I humbly beseech your Grace's good opinion of me, as I am, and ever have been, your Majesty's true subject." The Queen turned away with a half soliloquy in Spanish, uttering audibly "God knoweth!" Foxe adds that it was thought that "King Philip was there, behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a very friend in that matter"; but it is difficult to understand at this date what Philip's object could have been, unless, as Wiesener suggests, he merely followed his natural inclination

to mysterious manœuvres. Anyhow, Elizabeth gained her point, for a few days later Bedingfeld and his soldiers were dismissed and her captivity was at an end. Leti says that she sent the following letters to the King and Queen upon her release:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO QUEEN MARY.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

[1555.]

Madame,—I am deeply grateful for the many marks of affection which your Majesty was pleased to bestow upon me yesterday, and for the justice which has been done me to-day; showing me, with so much kindness, that, in giving me my liberty, you are fully convinced of my innocence. I can now only rejoice in the disgrace which has made me appear guilty to you (although my intentions have always been innocent), as the renewal of your Majesty's favours gives me so much happiness. Instead of thanks, I will assure you most solemnly of my unalterable loyalty, and always obey your sovereign orders with unswerving obedience. I hope that, in addition to these favours, you will grant me permission to see you and assure you in person that I am, with the greatest devotion, your Majesty's very obedient Servant and Sister, ELIZABETH.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO KING PHILIP.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

[1555.]

Sire,—I have been informed of the speed and generosity which your Majesty has shown in bringing about my deliverance from an imprisonment as weary and as long as any I have known. I should have borne it with more patience if I had been accused of anything which had wounded me less than the charge of disloyalty to the Queen, my sister. But knowing how devoted and zealous for her I have always been, I feel cut to the quick at the disgrace of even being

PHILIP II AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-FOUR.

(From a painting by Titian in the Prado Museum.)

thought capable of such a fault. If it were possible for my heart to harbour only the shadow of a thought of this nature I would tear it out with my own hands; and it was this which made my prison unbearable. God forbid, however, that I should impute the blame of my disgrace to any one but myself, or that I should say anything to detract from the honour or justice of the Queen. I am convinced that I must attribute my misfortune and my imprisonment to my unhappy destiny, Her Majesty being so generous and so just that she is incapable of ever doing any wrong to the least of her subjects, much less to her unhappy sister, who has had no other thought than to give her as much obedience as the meanest of her subjects. I do not think I shall belittle the clemency and kindness of the Queen towards me if I offer to your Majesty my very humble thanks for your goodness in so warmly supporting my cause, thus enabling me to regain my liberty. This could only have been brought about by the good offices and favours of a King as powerful as your Majesty. It is for this reason that I am emboldened to-day to entreat the continuance of your protection, and to assure you that I shall be always your Majesty's very humble Servant and Subject, ELIZABETH.

Mary waited in vain at Hampton Court for the fulfilment of her hopes. The wildest rumours were in circulation regarding her condition, and it was not without reason that the astute Ambassador, Simon Renard, took a gloomy view of affairs in writing to the Emperor on June 27:

SIMON RENARD TO CHARLES V.

[Froude. From the *Granvelle Papers*.]

LONDON, *June* 27, 1555.

The entire future turns on the accouchement of the Queen; of which, however, there are no signs. If all goes well, the state of feeling in the country will improve. If she is in error, I foresee convulsions and

disturbances such as no pen can describe. The succession to the crown is so unfortunately hampered, that it must fall to Elizabeth, and with Elizabeth there will be a religious revolution. The clergy will be put down, the Catholics persecuted, and there will be such revenge for the present proceedings as the world has never seen. I know not whether the King's person is safe; and the scandals and calumnies which the heretics are spreading about the Queen are beyond conception. Some say that she has never been *enceinte*; some repeat that there will be a supposititious child, and that there would have been less delay could a child have been found that would answer the purpose.[1] The looks of men are grown strange and impenetrable; those in whose loyalty I had most dependence I have now most reason to doubt. Nothing is certain, and I am more bewildered than ever at the things which I see going on around me. There is neither government, nor justice, nor order; nothing but audacity and malice.

On August 3 the King and Queen removed from Hampton Court to Oatlands, another royal residence four miles off. It was merely a temporary move, made—says Michiel, in a letter written two days later to the Doge and Senate (Venetian State Papers)—partly to provide an opportunity for the cleansing of the Palace, "of which the place has very great need," but more especially "in order no longer to keep the people of England in suspense about this delivery, by the constant and public processions which were made, and by the Queen's remaining so many days in retirement, seriously to the prejudice of her subjects; as not only did

[1] The impression was very generally spread. Noailles mentions it, writing on June 20 to the King of France; and Foxe mentions a mysterious attempt of Lord North to obtain a new-born child from its mother, as having happened within his own knowledge. The existence of the belief, however, proves nothing. At such a time it was inevitable, nor was there any good evidence to connect Lord North, supposing Foxe's story true, with the Court. The risk of discovery would have been great, the consequences terrible, and few people have been more incapable than Mary of knowingly doing a wrong thing.—*Froude.*

she transact no business, but would scarcely allow herself to be seen by any but the ladies, who, in expectation of this childbirth, especially the gentlewomen and the chief female nobility, had flocked to the Court from all parts of the Kingdom in such very great numbers, all living at the cost of Her Majesty, that with great difficulty could Hampton Court, although one of the largest palaces that can be seen here or elsewhere, contain them." The majority of these ladies, Michiel adds, were permitted to return to their houses, "under pretence of very limited accommodation; and by degrees Her Majesty has resumed the audiences and replaced other matters in their former ancient state." While the King and Queen were at Oatlands, Elizabeth was allowed to change her residence to another house about three miles away, and, as Michiel says in his next letter, she remained apart when their Majesties returned to Hampton Court on the 19th:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

RICHMOND, *August* 19, 1555.

. . . Last week their Majesties returned to Hampton Court, the Lady Elizabeth remaining at the seat to which she went; and now the Queen shows herself and converses with everybody as usual, her health being so good as perhaps never to have been better, to the universal surprise of all who see her, but of delivery or pregnancy small signs are visible externally, and no one talks or thinks of them any longer. As to the King's departure, he yesterday sent the Signor Carlo da Sanguino, gentleman of the mouth,[1] to Brussels, (they say) to fix his going, having already adroitly broached the topic to the Queen, who will acquiesce; so it is said he will leave in eight or ten days, postwise, leaving the greater part of his household for the sake of convincing the Queen by as many signs as he can that he purposes

[1] Or "Esquire carver."

returning speedily; though on the contrary it is said more than ever, that he will go to Spain, and remove hence his household and all the others by degrees. . . .

Philip's one idea, indeed, was to get away. His English alliance had brought him many disappointments and considerable loss of dignity. There seemed little prospect of receiving from the Council the Crown Matrimonial, and even less prospect of ever obtaining an heir by the Queen who wasted upon him all her love. Besides, his presence was needed on the Continent. His father, broken in health and baffled in ambition, awaited him at Brussels, before retiring to Spain, intending to resign to Philip the sovereignty of the Netherlands. According to Noailles, Philip promised Mary to return in a few weeks, but it was more than eighteen months before they met again. Philip left Hampton Court on August 26, and Elizabeth, as well as Mary, went to see him off from Greenwich. The Princess, however, was not permitted to share in the royal procession through the streets of London, but had to go instead by water, in a plain barge, and with few attendants. Noailles mentions this in his letter of September 9, as well as the fact that Philip provided for Elizabeth's safety during his absence:

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE QUEEN-DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

September 9, 1555.

. . . Madame Elizabeth, the sister of the Queen, is a little more favoured than usual. She goes every day to Mass with the Queen, who often visits her. She was not with the King and Queen on the day they passed through London, but went alone by water in a very badly-fitted boat, with only four ladies and two or three gentlemen, which has caused much discontent among the people. However, his Grace, the said Lord King, has shown a friendly disposition for her, and he has written several letters to the Queen, his wife, commending the Princess to her care; and

he has given special commands to the principal Spanish Lords who are in this place that they should advise the Queen to this effect. But it is said that these Lords, suspecting that their master's absence will not be a short one, and also that they can gain nothing while he is away, are leaving every day, by different roads, for Flanders, as they would rather be sure of helping him there than remain here, where it is doubtful if they could do much.

Elizabeth remained with the Court at Greenwich and St. James's until October 18, when she retired to Hatfield, Mary being glad to have her out of the way before she opened Parliament on the 21st. London, as Noailles says in the next letter, gave the Princess a royal reception as she passed through the capital on her way north:

ANTOINE DE NOAILLES TO THE KING.

[Noailles: "*Ambassades.*"]

October 22, 1555.

. . . Madame Elizabeth left last Thursday, the 18th of this month, to go to her own house, which is thirty miles from London, where, it is said, she intends to remain for the greater part of the winter. Everyone believes that the Queen has purposely sent her away so that she may not assist at the opening of Parliament, and also to deaden the people's affection for her. Everyone in London, however, both great and small, made great demonstrations when the said Lady passed through on the 18th day of this month, making many signs of joy and all other customary salutations, and following her out of the town. For this cause the Princess was obliged to order several of her gentlemen and officers to remain behind in order to keep the people in check.

For some days past the Lords of the Council have decided to divide the charges which they have into four parts, so that they may transact the administration of this kingdom more efficiently, each one taking

an equal share. However, they have been obliged to meet together as usual, but they have agreed on nothing in what concerns or depends on their own special charges. This has been done on account of the grave illness of the Chancellor, who is getting worse every day, and has been unable to attend to the Queen's affairs for a fortnight; but yesterday[1] he forced himself to take part in the said Parliament, which he only managed with great difficulty, and was obliged to have the help of four of his servants, who supported him, even when he was on his horse.

The death of Gardiner left Mary lonelier than ever, and she did not appoint a new Chancellor (Archbishop Heath) until January. She longed for Philip's home-coming, but the King, who not only received from his father the sovereignty of the Netherlands, but three months later became Philip II. of Spain—and so really had sufficient excuse for his continued absence—put her off with vague promises of an early return, promises which the shrewd diplomatist Michiel described as "mere words." All this time the English malcontents were growing bolder, weaving new conspiracies against the Crown, generally with the help of one or more of Elizabeth's household. Sir Henry Dudley's plot, which developed early in 1556, was a more elaborate affair than the Wyatt conspiracy, but similar in its main objects, the marrying of Elizabeth to the exiled Courtenay, and the deposition of Mary and Philip in their favour. It was fostered, as usual, by the indefatigable Noailles, and supported by Henry II., though the fact that in February the French King had agreed to a five years' truce with Philip, by the treaty of Vaucelles, made him postpone the plot, if only for decency's sake. Part of the following letter, which was written but a few days after the signing of the treaty, has been printed by Miss Stone in her excellent Life of Mary (1901) as proof of Elizabeth's willing co-operation in the plot, but the evidence, though damaging, is

[1] Gardiner, too weak to reach his own house, was removed to Whitehall, where he died on November 12

inconclusive. Noailles would have had little hesitation in telling the Constable of France that he could rely upon Elizabeth's support if he thought that matters might be hastened thereby, even though he had only his own authority for saying so :

THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE TO M. DE NOAILLES.

[Noailles : "*Ambassades.*"]

February 7, 1556.

M. de Noailles,—We have received all the letters which you mention, and in which you say that the King has written to you. We have deferred answering them until we should know the result of my nephew, the Admiral's, conference, so that we might tell you of it. You will have heard now, as the said Lord has written to you, informing you of a treaty[1] which is as honourable and as advantageous as we could desire, and has made us an object of great envy to our enemies. We have to advise you that the King has thought much of what you have written to him concerning the passage of the person who has been sent in advance by Bertheville,[2] of whose arrival we have not yet had tidings. The said Bertheville, however, has written to me, saying that he arrived at Dieppe on the 25th of the past month. It is the King's desire that the said person should remain in that town, as his stay there may have the effect of diverting suspicion from the affair in which he is engaged, while if he came here we should find it difficult to account for his presence.

We must act cautiously, principally on your account, matters being as they are through this treaty. Above all, restrain Madame Elizabeth from stirring at all in the affair of which you have written to me; for that would be to ruin everything and lose

[1] The truce of Vaucelles.

[2] A French refugee in England who acted as Noailles's agent in this matter.

the object of our plans. It is necessary to negotiate with great care and to await our opportunity. You are prudent and well-informed, and you are at hand ; you must conduct this affair so skilfully and wisely that nothing is lost, and so that those who love their liberty do not lose it; and impress upon all that the King desires their welfare as much as ever.

Dudley and other ringleaders in the plot had gone to Paris to make the final arrangements with the French King, but Henry II. gave them similar advice to that sent by the Constable to Noailles, urging them to have patience and await their opportunity. Thus Mary's Government had time to get wind of the plot and act accordingly. Throckmorton, Sir Anthony Kingston, and many others were arrested at home, Kingston dying in despair—probably by his own hand, according to Froude—on his way from Devonshire to take his trial in London. Lord Clinton, who was going over to congratulate the French King on the conclusion of his truce with Philip, was instructed to complain at the same time of the shelter which Henry was giving to English rebels, and to demand that Dudley and the other ringleaders should be handed over as "traitors, heretics, and outlaws."

Amid all these new anxieties, Mary, hoping against hope for Philip's return, at last lost courage, and for a time refused to appear in public. She would gladly have seen Elizabeth removed from England, but would venture nothing without her husband's authority. In the next letter we have the Venetian Ambassador—who is corroborated by Noailles—writing in regard to the secret scheme for carrying off the Princess to Spain, probably as the betrothed of Don Carlos (Philip's only son by his first wife), the "vicious young lunatic," as Major Martin Hume calls him, who was then only ten years old. Elizabeth was twenty-two. This projected marriage (according to Noailles, in a letter of September 24, 1555) had been secretly discussed with Elizabeth herself before she left for Hatfield by Don Diego Dageneda, one of the Spanish Lords left behind by Philip, but apparently without success:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *April* 21, 1556.

. . . During the last three months a Spanish courier, by name Gamboa, has often gone to and fro between this and Brussels, he having also been sent off last evening by the President here, Figueroa, not without suspicion of some secret negotiation between him and the most Serene Queen; which doubt having induced me to investigate the matter, I have at length heard from a good quarter that they talk of removing hence "Miladi" Elizabeth and taking her to Spain; nor was it chosen to tell me anything further. Whether the project take effect or not, it will be solely for the sake of securing themselves against any disturbance which might arise on her account, the danger being more at hand and more certain in this quarter than in any other, the affections and wishes of the majority already inclining towards her, owing to the small hope of descent from the most Serene Queen. As the negotiation, supposing it to be true, is kept very secret, it will be well for your Serenity to do the like, by enjoining, should it seem fit to you, such silence as the matter deserves.

The Queen of Scotland has sent to congratulate Her Majesty on the conclusion of the truce, the King of France also having through his ambassador here given her account of the loving offices passed in the name of the Emperor and of her consort by the Count de Lalain with His most Christian Majesty. . . .

A week later Michiel returns to the subject, and his letter suggests that, if Mary had been able to do as she liked in the matter, Elizabeth would have been removed from England by force:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *April* 28, 1556.

. . . From Brussels you may perhaps receive some hint about what was told me lately with regard to the

removal hence of Miladi Elizabeth, although there has been vigorous debate and opposition, by reason of the stir it might create. It has nevertheless been told me that the matter is urged and earnestly canvassed by the Queen in person, who conceives that by removing her (Elizabeth) bodily from hence, there will be a riddance of all the causes for scandal and disturbances, she (I understand) having said plainly that she will not marry, even were they to give her the King's son, or find any other greater prince. I again respectfully remind your Serenity to enjoin secrecy about this. . . .

Shortly after this, Lord Clinton returned from Paris without obtaining anything from Henry II. except protestations of friendship; but Mary's Government was by this time thoroughly roused to the continued seriousness of the situation created by English refugees on the Continent. John Cheke, formerly tutor to Edward VI., and Carew, who, like many of the other prisoners, had been implicated in Wyatt's revolt, were sent under arrest from Flanders, their imprisonment being followed by that of Lord Thomas Howard, a son of the third Duke of Norfolk. Even Noailles, as Michiel says in one of his letters, came near to being arrested, but the Privy Council, "consigning the affair to silence for the present, perhaps in conformity with the will and command of the most Serene King," allowed him to retire to France, leaving "in his stead a brother of his, a Councillor of the Parliament of Bordeaux, who was sent lately from France, until the arrival of his brother [François], the Protonotary, destined a long while ago for the embassy." It is interesting at this stage to get the views of the King of France, Henry II., on the Spanish prospects in England, as well as his opinions of "those devilish souls," the English :

GIACOMO SORANZO, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE, TO THE DOGE AND SENATE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

MORETTE, *June* 1, 1556.

. . . When I asked the King if the Emperor would live remote from political affairs, he said "he believed

he would no longer transact business, and among the other signs which seemed most important was that it had not been heard that the Bishop of Arras would go with His Imperial Majesty, he being on such bad terms with the King of England that he cannot remain in his service; so if he does not accompany the Emperor the Emperor will retire from business, and I have desired my ambassador at that Court to address himself for all affairs to Don Ruy Gomez, who proves very gracious and well disposed."

His Majesty then added, "I have heard on good authority that the Emperor on his passage has a mind to take with him to Spain Madame Elizabeth, the sister of the Queen of England, giving her to understand that should the Queen not have children, they will marry her to the Prince of Spain, but this they do to remove her from that kingdom, of which they are endeavouring by all means to make themselves masters, and it continues to be said more than ever that the King will go over with an army, to which I perceive many obstacles; for even were he to take with him 10,000 or 12,000 soldiers they would not suffice to keep all of those devilish souls in order; and I verily believe that for his security there would be no other remedy than to expatriate all the inhabitants of that island and plant a colony there, as the Romans did, nor could he ever trust himself otherwise. Then, as you know, there are no fortresses in that kingdom, and should it be chosen to hold it by force, they must raise some, and in great number, which would require time and enormous expenditure, but I do not know whether he will have the means to realize these designs. Nor will I omit telling you that the other day, when Lord Clinton was here, he complained to me that I harboured the Queen's rebels and listened to their proposals, and I answered him that the malcontents of that kingdom were in such number that they had already filled not only France, but the whole of Italy, and that it was true that they came to me and proposed the most extravagant

things possible, but that I had never given ear to any of them; and to tell you the truth, ambassador, I know the English well, and that they are not to be trusted by anyone. I have also heard that in England they plotted to make Courtenay go back, but my ambassador at Venice writes to me that by no means will he go thither." . . .

The scene shifts back to London, where Michiel takes up the story in his letter of June 2, and shows how various members of Elizabeth's household were, as usual, implicated in the conspiracies:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *June* 2, 1556.

The number of persons imprisoned increases daily, the arrest of Lord Thomas Howard having been followed by that of Lord La Ware (Milord Alvard[1]), a person who, although a nobleman, is nevertheless factious and scandalous, having been heretofore deprived of his seat in Parliament as baron for an attempt to poison one of his uncles, for the sake of inheriting from him so much the sooner; wherefore no one is surprised at his having been guilty as an associate in the plot. Two other gentlemen were arrested with him and sent together to the Tower, one of them having been a very favourite chamber attendant of King Edward. Two days later Mistress Ashley was taken thither, she being the chief governess of Miladi Elizabeth, the arrest, together with that of three other domestics, having taken place in the country, eighteen miles hence, even in the aforesaid Miladi's own house, and where she at present resides, which has caused great general vexation. Among the domestics is a certain Battista, an Italian, native of Piedmont, the Signora's master for the

[1] William West, Baron de la Warr, born about 1519, died 1595.

Italian tongue, and who has been twice before imprisoned on her account, he being much suspected on the score of religion, as likewise is the governess and all the others. I am told that they have already confessed to having known about the conspiracy; so not having revealed it, were there nothing else against them, they may probably not quit the Tower alive, this alone subjecting them to capital punishment. This governess was also found in possession of those writings and scandalous books against the religion and against the King and Queen which were scattered about some months ago, and published all over the kingdom; and by reason of her grade with the "*Signora*," who is held in universal esteem and consideration, it is supposed that on this account chiefly Francesco Piamontese was immediately sent back in haste to Brussels, it being credible that nothing is done, nor does anything take place, without having the King's opinion about it, and hearing his will.

There is little doubt that it was the King's influence which prevented Elizabeth herself from being again arrested on this occasion and sent to the Tower with the four other members of her household. It is difficult otherwise to account for Mary's leniency, described in Michiel's next letter:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.
[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *June* 9, 1556.

The arrest of the governess and of Miladi Elizabeth's three domestics having subsequently been added to by that of two other gentlemen resident here, who although her dependants and receiving salaries from her are in less constant attendance on her than the aforesaid, the Queen was induced to send to her in the country yesterday, Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, and Sir H. [Francis] Englefield, one of the Lords of the Royal Council, to console and comfort her on behalf of Her Majesty, knowing, as may well be supposed, that this circumstance had

distressed and dejected her; and to present her, as a token of loving salutation, and of a message of good will, according to the custom here, with a ring worth 400 ducats, and also to give her minute account of the cause of their arrest, to acquaint her with what they had hitherto deposed and confessed, and to persuade her not to take amiss the removal from about her person of similar folks, who subjected her to the danger of some evil suspicion; assuring her of the Queen's good will and disposition, provided she continue to live becomingly, to Her Majesty's liking; together with some other particulars, which cannot now be ascertained; using in short loving and gracious expressions, to show her that she is neither neglected nor hated, but loved and esteemed by Her Majesty. This message is considered most gracious by the whole kingdom, everybody in general wishing her all ease and honour, and very greatly regretting any trouble she may incur; the proceeding having been not only necessary but profitable, to warn her of the licentious life led, especially in matters of religion, by her household, independently of the certain knowledge had by those members of it who have been arrested, of these conspiracies; she being thus clandestinely exposed to the manifest risk of infamy and ruin. The Queen has thus moreover an opportunity for remodelling her (Elizabeth's) household in another form, and with a different sort of persons from those now in her service, replacing them by such as are entirely dependent on Her Majesty; so that as her own proceedings and those of all such persons as enter or quit her abode will be most narrowly scanned, she may have reason to keep so much the more to her duty, and together with her attendants behave the more cautiously; but on the return of the gentlemen aforesaid the effect produced by them will be still better ascertained.

A new governor was found for Elizabeth in Sir Thomas Pope, who, only a year previously, had founded Trinity

College, Oxford. Pope had formed part of the Princess's household at the time of the Wyatt rebellion, and she gave him a cordial welcome on receiving him in his new post. We must again rely on Michiel for a letter on the subject:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *June* 16, 1556.

The office performed with Miladi Elizabeth by the two personages sent to her in the Queen's name, agreed with what I wrote on the 9th, as heard on their return. According to the chief commission given them, before leaving her, they placed in her house a certain Sir Thomas Pope, a rich and grave gentleman, of good name both for conduct and religion; the Queen having appointed him Miladi's governor, and she having accepted him willingly, although he himself did his utmost to decline such a charge. I am told that besides this person they also assigned her a widow gentlewoman as governess, in lieu of her own who is a prisoner, so that at present having none but the Queen's dependants about her person she herself likewise may be also said to be in ward and custody, though in such decorous and honourable form as becoming. . . .

Other affairs here proceed quietly as usual, but with risk of great sickness and yet greater famine than the last, owing to the heat and extraordinary drought of the season, as contrary to the wont of this climate, and to the need of the soil, four months and upwards have passed without any rain to do good.

The Queen remains more distressed than ever, from hearing that fresh impediments arise daily to prevent the return of the King; but what grieves her most is the not having had news of his malady for several days, neither her chamberlain nor any of the couriers over there having returned; nor does her ambassador write, which yet more increases her sorrow and suspicion; as, although it is heard by

advices from others that His Majesty has almost quite recovered, she nevertheless, receiving no intelligence to this effect from her agents, will not give credit to the others, nor be pacified.[1]

The Dudley conspiracy smouldered on through the summer. Dudley himself, with his fellow plotters, clung to the secret shelter of the French Court, while most of those who had been arrested at home paid the penalty on the block. Both Lord Thomas Howard and Lord De La Warr escaped, owing probably to their family connexions. Carew saved himself in hard cash, and the learned Cheke by abjuring. Dudley made a feeble effort to stir the smouldering embers into a flame by sending a young adventurer named Cleobury to impersonate Courtenay in England. Cleobury turned up during July in an Essex village and caused a local flutter of excitement by proclaiming "the Lady Elizabeth Queen, and her beloved bedfellow, Lord Courtenay, King," but he was very soon arrested, and two months later lost his head for his pains. The Council thought it necessary, apparently, to inform Elizabeth of the affair through her new governor, Sir Thomas Pope:

THE COUNCIL TO SIR THOMAS POPE.

[Burnet's "*History of the Reformation.*" From the *Cottonian MSS.*]

ELTHAM, *July* 30, 1556.

Mr. Pope, after our very hearty commendations, ye shall understand that among divers other devilish practices, attempted from time to time by Dudley, Ashton, and other traitors in France, for the disturbance of the quiet of the realm, they have now lately sent over one Cleobury, who (if I the Lord Chancellor be not deceived in the man) was, while I was president in Wales, indicted of a burglary, and should have

[1] Philip's malady was not very serious; probably the result of some of the dissipations in which he appears to have indulged during his absence from the Queen.

been, if he had not escaped by the means of certain his accomplices, who took him from the sheriff's man, as well for the said burglary, as for divers other notable robberies and other offences, made sure enough from attempting this enterprise now. This man being sent by the aforesaid traitors into the extreme parts of Essex and Suffolk, where naming himself to be Earl of Devonshire, he hath, by spreading abroad of slanderous letters and proclamations, abused the Lady Elizabeth's Grace's name; procuring thereby, as much as in him lay, to stir the King and Queen's Majesties' subjects in those parts to rebellion, as by the copies of the said letters and proclamations, which we send unto you herewith, may at better length appear unto you. And albeit the people there have showed themselves so true and obedient subjects as immediately upon the understanding of this enterprise they did of themselves, and without any commandment, apprehend as many of the attempters of this devilish practice as they could come by, whereby their good will and truth to the King and Queen's Majesties doth well appear. Yet because this matter is spread already abroad, and that peradventure many constructions and discourses will be made thereof, we have thought meet to signify the whole circumstance of the cause unto you, to be by you opened unto the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, at such time as ye shall think convenient; to the end it may appear unto her how little these men stick, by falsehood and untruth, to compass their purpose; not letting, for that intent, to abuse the name of her Grace, or any others; which their devices nevertheless are (God be thanked) by His goodness discovered from time to time to their Majesties' preservation, and confusion of their enemies. And so bid you heartily well to fare.

This drew from the Princess a letter to the Queen, which, in its tortuous phraseology, would be difficult to match even in Elizabeth's correspondence.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO QUEEN MARY.

[Strickland's "*Elizabeth.*" From the *Lansdowne MSS.*]

HATFIELD, *August* 2, 1556.

When I revolve in mind (most noble Queen) the old love of Paynims to their princes, and the reverent fear of Romans to their senate, I cannot but muse for my part and blush for theirs, to see the rebellious hearts and devilish intents of Christians in name, but Jews in deed, towards their anointed king, which methinks if they had feared God, (though they could not have loved the state) they should for the dread of their own plague, have refrained that wickedness, which their bounden duty to your Majesty had not restrained. But when I call to remembrance that the devil *tanquam leo rugiens circumvenit, quærens quem devorare potest*, I do the less marvel that he hath gotten such novices into his professed house, as vessels (without God's grace) more apt to serve his palace than meet to inhabit English land. I am the bolder to call them his imps, for that St. Paul saith, *Seditiosi sunt filii diaboli*; and since I have so good a buckler, I fear less to enter into their judgment.

Of this I assure your Majesty, it had been my part, above the rest, to bewail such things, though my name had not been in them, yet much it vexed me, that the devil oweth me such a hate, as to put me in any part of his mischievous instigations, whom, as I profess him my foe, (that is, all Christians' enemy) so wish I he had some other way invented to spite me.

But since it hath pleased God thus to bewray their malice, I most humbly thank Him, both that He has ever thus preserved your Majesty through His aid, much like a lamb from the horns of this Basan's bull, and also stirred up the hearts of your loving subjects to resist them, and deliver you to His honour and their shame. The intelligence of which, proceeding from your Majesty, deserves more humble thanks than with my pen I can render, which as infinite I will leave to number.

And among earthly things I chiefly wish this one, that there were as good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts (that I might show my thoughts to your Majesty) as there are expert physicians of bodies, able to express the inward griefs of maladies to their patients. For then I doubt not, but know well, that whatever others should subject by malice, yet your Majesty should be sure, by knowledge, that the more such mists effuscate the clear light of my soul, the more my tried thoughts should listen to the dimming of their hidden malice.

But since wishes are vain and desires oft fail, I must crave that my deeds may supply that which my thoughts cannot declare, and that they be not misdeemed, as the facts have been so well tried. And like as I have been your faithful subject from the beginning of your reign, so shall no wicked person cause me to change to the end of my life. And thus I commend your Majesty to God's tuition, whom I beseech long time preserve, ending with the new remembrance of my old suit, more than for that I should not be forgotten, than for I think it not remembered.

Your Majesty's obedient subject and humble sister,
ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth appears to have taken a keen interest in the College at Oxford which Sir Thomas Pope had founded a year before. On one occasion she was instrumental, with Lady Pope, in mitigating the punishment to be inflicted upon two offending scholars, as will be seen from the letter which follows:

SIR THOMAS POPE TO THE PRESIDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

[Nichols's "*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*"]

HATFIELD, *August* 22, 1556.

Master President; With my hearty commendations, albeit Simpson and Rudd have committed such an

offence as whereby they have justly deserved not only for ever to be expelled out of my College, but also to be punished besides in such sort as others might fear to attempt the like: nevertheless, at the desire, or rather commandment, of my Lady Elizabeth her Grace, and at my wife's request, who hath both sent and written to me very earnestly, and in hope this will be a warning for them to live in order hereafter, I am content to remit this fault, and to dispense with them touching the same. So always, that they openly in the Hall, before all the Fellows and Scholars of the College, confess their faults; and besides pay such fine as you with others of the College shall think meet. Which being done, I will the sum be recorded in some book, wherein I will have mention made that for this fault they were clean expelled the College, and at my Lady Elizabeth her Grace's desire, and at my wife's request, they were received into the house again. Signifying, that if any shall hereafter commit the like offence, I am fully resolved there shall no creature living, the Queen's Majesty except who may command me, cause me to dispense withal. Assuring you I never did anything more against my heart than to remit this matter, the punishment whereof to the extremity, I believe, would have done more good than in this form to be ended; as knoweth the Holy Ghost, who keep you in health. Your own assuredly, THO. POPE.

Postscript.—Sir, I require you above all things, have a special regard there be peace and concord in my College.

With Elizabeth at Hatfield at this time was her old preceptor, Roger Ascham—now Latin secretary to Queen Mary—who was permitted to resume his studies with the Princess. Ascham was proud of his pupil's progress, and on the visit of his learned acquaintance, Metullus, introduced him to her, displaying all her accomplishments to the best advantage. In a subsequent letter to his friend Sturmius,

dated September 14, 1555, he writes: "From Metullus you will learn what my most noble Elizabeth is. He will tell you how much she excels in Greek, Italian, Latin, and French; also her knowledge of things in general, and with what a wise and accurate judgment she is endowed. Metullus thought it more to have seen Elizabeth, than to have seen England."

CHAPTER VII

THE RISING STAR (1556—1558)

Courtenay's death—Closing events of his career—Ruy Gomez accused of his assassination—Courtenay's alleged deathbed letter to Elizabeth—His connexion with the Anglo-French conspiracies—Elizabeth's position at Court—The competitors for the succession—Elizabeth's compulsory return to Hatfield—Her proposed escape to France — Philip's return — His war with France — England dragged into the conflict—The loss of Calais—The King of Sweden's secret proposal to Elizabeth—Her views on matrimony—Mary's renewed hopes of an heir—The Count de Feria's arrival and interview with Elizabeth—Elizabeth's letter to Philip on the death of Charles V.

DEATH intervened at this stage to remove from Elizabeth's troubled life a kinsman who, had he been worthy of the royal stock from which he came, might have made a great name in English history—Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, a Plantagenet and representative of the White Rose, his grandfather, the Earl of Devon—like Elizabeth's grandfather, Henry VII.—having married one of the daughters of Edward IV. It may not be out of place here to gather up the remaining threads of his tangled story, about which there still seems to linger a considerable amount of doubt. As shown in Michiel's letter of April 29, 1555, Courtenay left the English Court for Brussels with the intention of kissing the Emperor's hand, "in acknowledgment of the boon he had received from King Philip, the chief cause of his release," and afterwards proceeding to Italy. Arriving in Brussels on May 17, there was soon some talk of marrying him to the Emperor's niece, the Duchess of Lorraine, but nothing came of it. On May 19 he was presented to the Emperor, "whose Highness," Courtenay tells his mother on the 29th (Venetian State Papers), "used me very honourably." A little later, however, he went off in a huff to Louvain, because he considered that the Emperor had slighted him, but recovered for reasons given in the following

letter from Federico Badoer, the Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, dated July 28, 1555 (Venetian State Papers) : " Lord Courtenay has received letters from his lady mother in England, informing him that Don Ruy Gomez,[1] both spontaneously as it were, and moreover by order of his King, let her know that he has cause to be easy in his mind, as His Majesty loves him, and will soon show it by matter of fact ; so his Lordship is no longer so intent on obtaining the licence to depart for Italy, and several persons tell him that, should the Queen not have heirs, the Emperor will favour the marriage between him and the Queen's sister, in order that there may be successors to the English crown ; and he has requested audience of His Majesty, who promised it him for to-day or to-morrow, but it is not known for what purpose he made the demand."

A week later Ruy Gomez himself arrived in Brussels to arrange for King Philip's return, and to suggest to the Emperor that Elizabeth as well as Courtenay should be brought over from England, and, if possible, made to reside with the Queens Maria and Eleanor. A letter to that effect was sent to Philip, but the King replied that Lord Paget strongly urged him not to attempt anything of the sort, " as it would certainly cause too great disturbance, and most certain mischief." Courtenay returned to Brussels on hearing of the arrival there of Ruy Gomez, and was treated by him on that occasion with every outward sign of affection, Gomez assuring him that on the arrival of Philip he might expect from him everything possible. The King's Prime Minister then hurried back to England, arriving in time to recross with Philip on September 4—and incidentally, it would seem, from State Papers presently to be quoted, to make the preliminary arrangements for Courtenay's assassination. Several pathetic letters from Courtenay's mother, Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter, have been preserved, in which she begs him, before extending his travels, to return to " your poor mother, who esteems you above her own life," and " has as little worldly comfort as ever woman had." On the King's arrival in Brussels, Courtenay begged His Majesty's permission to return for a few days to England, " to mortgage

[1] King Philip's Spanish Prime Minister.

and sell some of his estates, by reason of the necessary expenses which it behoved him to incur on this his journey to Italy" (Badoer, November 11, 1555, Venetian State Papers), but without success; "so he departed with only four horses, saying that from Louvain he should accompany the Elector as far as Cologne, and then continue his journey with speed, intending to go first to Mantua, then to Ferrara, and perhaps to Milan, before going to Venice." He died at Padua in September, 1556, "of an ague caught among the lagoons at Venice," according to Froude, but Rawdon Brown, in his introduction to Vol. VI. of the Venetian State Papers, supports the theory that his death was due to poison. To this we shall return later, here making room for a translation of Leti's version of the letter which the uncorroborated Italian historian tells us was sent by Courtenay to Elizabeth from his deathbed:

EDWARD COURTENAY TO PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

[SEPTEMBER, 1556.]

My dear Princess,

I have been attacked by an acute fever, which is so violent that my life is in danger, although I have only been ill since yesterday. I am therefore taking advantage of a brief respite from the delirium, which arises from the fever, to write to you, as I do not know from one moment to the next how my illness may end. I would beg you to consider how great my love for you must be since I will not allow myself to forget you, and I am even writing to you in the last hours of my life, which ought to be devoted entirely to my soul. I implore you to believe, my dear Princess, that the deep love which I have had for you has been pure and sincere, and I have had no other thought or wish than that I might, by just and lawful means, one day become your husband. But Providence, who did not think me worthy of so much happiness, has punished me for my temerity, for which I ask your pardon, my dear Princess, and for

EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

(From a painting by Anthony More.)

any other thing in which I may have inadvertently offended you, for I have ever been incapable of doing so wilfully. From the first day that you did me the honour to show me favour, I resolved to be faithful to you till death, and, in order to keep that pledge, it is very right that I should consecrate to you the last sighs of my life. I am dying in exile, being guilty of no other crime than that of supporting the cause of the dear one who did me the honour of loving me, and who permitted me to love her. In the depths of my trouble I have no other consolation than the pleasure of writing this letter to you. I hope you will be so kind as to receive it with the same royal generosity with which you have deigned to love me, and that you will also accept the two rings which are enclosed, so that I may replace them in the same dear hands from which I took them. I could not bear to part with them if I believed I had long to live; that is why I have given orders that this letter is only to be given to you after my death. The fever is returning and will not allow me to say more to you, so that I am forced to finish with the wish that I had been able to obtain a longer reprieve in which to indulge in the pleasure of writing to you. My illness is too violent to last long, and very soon I think death will end it. Adieu, my dear Princess.

Peter Vannes, the English Resident at Venice, sends a detailed account of Courtenay's death as he understood it, and Froude gives the letter from the original in the Record Office:

PETER VANNES TO QUEEN MARY.

[Froude's "*History of England*," Vol. VI.]

VENICE, *September* 18, 1556.

It hath pleased Almighty God, as the Author of all goodness, and as One that doth nothing in vain, to call the Earl of Devonshire to His mercy, even about the hour, or little more or less, that I am writing of

this present; and being very sorry to trouble your Highness with this kind of news, yet forasmuch as the providence of God must be fulfilled in all things, I shall somewhat touch on his sickness till the hour of death. True it is that he, as I have perceived, for the avoiding all suspicion from himself, hath chosen a life more solitary than needed, saving the company of certain gentlemen, Venetians, among whom he was much made of. It chanced him upon three weeks agone, for his honest recreation, to go to a place called Lio, a piece of an island five miles from Venice, for to see his hawks fly upon a wasted ground, without any houses; and there he was suddenly taken with a great tempest of wind and rain, insomuch that his boat, called a gondola, could not well return to Venice; and he was fain, for his succour, to take a certain searcher's boat that by chance there arrived, and so to Venice he came, being body and legs very thinly clothed, refusing to change them with any warmer garment. And upon that time, or within few days after, as he told me, had a fall upon the stairs of his house, and after seeming to himself to be well, and finding no pain, took his journey hither unto Padua; and for the avoiding of the weariness of the water, and the labouring of horses, chose the worse way coming; and so by certain waggons called coaches, very shaking and uneasy to my judgment, came to Padua upon Saturday by night. Of whose coming being advertised, I went to visit him on the morrow after, and found him very weak; and since that time he began to appear every day worse and worse, avoiding friends' visitations; and drew himself to the counsel of two of the best physicians of this town, and entered into a continued hot ague, sometimes more vehement than at another; and as I have seen and heard, he hath been always diligently attended. I have charged his servants in your name, and as they will avoid your displeasure, that a true inventory shall be made of such small movables as he had here, and that specially all kind of writings and letters that he had either here or at Venice, shall be

put in assurance, abiding for your commandment. I am now about to see the order of his burial, with as much sparing and as much honour as can be done; for the merchantmen on whom, by your Grace's commandment, he had a credit of 3 or 4 thousand crowns, are not as yet willing to disburse any money without a sufficient discharge of my Lord of Devonshire's hand, the doing whereof is past. I shall shift to see him buried as well as I can; notwithstanding, I beseech your Grace not to be discontented with me that I am at the next door to go a begging.

My said Lord of Devonshire is dead, in mine opinion a very good Christian man; for after that I had much exhorted him to take his Communion and rites of the Church as a thing most necessary, and by whose means God giveth unto His chosen people health, both bodily and ghostly: he answered me, by broken words, that he was well content so to do; and in token thereof, and in repentance for his sins, he lifted up his eyes and knocked himself upon the heart; and after I had suffered him to pause a good while, I caused the Sacrament to be brought, and after the priest's godly exhortation, he forced himself to receive the blessed Communion; but his tongue had so stopped his mouth, and his teeth so clove together, that in no wise he could receive the same; and after this sort this gentleman is gone, as I do not doubt, to God His mercy.

I shall not let to say to your Grace, that since his coming to Padua, by way of communication, he showed unto me, that it had been reported unto him that some one had said that he was better French than English, and if God did recover him and send him his health so that he might come to the knowledge of his misreporter, he was minded to try that quarrel by the sword.

It is probable, says Rawdon Brown in his preface to Vol. VI. of the Venetian State Papers, that Peter Vannes knew less about the causes of Courtenay's death than the Spanish

Ambassador, Francisco de Vergas, and that the French Ambassador, the Bishop of Lodeve, was better acquainted with the contents of his casket than the representative of England in Venice, whose information does not expose the political intrigues then in progress between Courtenay, the King of France, and the Duke of Ferrara. Writing to Petre on October 3, Peter Vannes states that he has obtained "by the Podesta's command, and all the magistrates' doing here, that the late Earl of Devonshire's servants, four physicians, and two surgeons, that have had him in cure, and have been privy to his opening and searching, have been sworn and examined as to the disease of which he died." Their depositions and testimonies, he adds, remain with him until he has the Queen's commandments; the writings found in the Earl's chamber after his death are in the armed keeping of the Podesta, until the Queen's pleasure is known to them; and he has caused an inventory to be made of the movables brought forth upon oath by the Earl's servants to remain in their custody. He prays the Queen's pardon for having done this without commission. Rawdon Brown evidently attaches little value to the results of this inquest. A comparison of all the documents, he says, in summing up the facts, will convince the reader "that neither the Republic of Venice, nor Queen Mary's English advisers, can be justly held accountable for the death, apparently by poison, of the Earl of Devonshire."

Ruy Gomez's share in Courtenay's death—if indeed he had any share—is difficult to understand. "No person has an ill word for Ruy Gomez," writes Major Martin Hume in his excellent life of "Philip II. of Spain," in the "Foreign Statesmen" series. "Gentle, conciliatory, modest and diplomatic, he was the very antithesis of the haughty and intolerant Alba," his predecessor. Yet the following depositions of the Dalmatian soldier, Marco da Risano, contains, as Rawdon Brown remarks, a very heavy charge against Ruy Gomez, and one which the editor of the volume, comparing it with the entries in the Foreign Calendar (Mary), evidently believed to be genuine. The Dalmatian, on being examined before the Council of Ten on December 24, 1555, was addressed thus:

"You told the Procurator, Carlo Molosini, that you know of an order given for the murder in this city of Courtenay, who is coming from England to Venice. Narrate what you know concerning this matter."

To this interrogatory Marco da Risano replied:

"On the 28th (*sic*) of August (1555), Ruy Gomez quitted England for Flanders, and before his departure he gave orders for me to speak to him, and I found him booted, and on the eve of departure, so that I was no longer able to speak to him. He said to me, 'Captain, thou art to cross over to Flanders; thou wilt come to see me there.' I crossed on our Lady's Eve in September, and went to Brussels, where I found the said Don Ruy Gomez, and having gone to him several times, he made me return repeatedly. At length on the 18th October, when about to proceed on my journey, I went and saw him, and he said to me, 'Captain, I have heard of your renown, that you are a brave and honest man, and can do a service which will be very agreeable to me. If thou wilt perform this service, I will give thee a thousand crowns, and obtain for thee the favour of King Philip, who will cause thee to obtain more than thou hast had from the Emperor. A certain individual is going to Venice named Courtenay, who expects to be King of England. On my sending to thee a person of mine, according to description you will be able to discover his abode, and perform the service in his company, as he will have other companions, and you, who are acquainted with the place, will be able to find boats and the ferries for their escape, so that they may not be seized. They are good men and true, and carry three arquebuses, each with three balls. When they shall have done the deed, assist them, and escape with them into Puglia, when thou shalt see what I will do for thee.' I answered him that, on the opportunity presenting itself, I would act willingly; answering thus for my own benefit, but God forbid I should kill any one for money, were they to give me Naples; and so as I speak the truth so may God help me, nor as yet has anything more come of it."

Courtenay arrived in Venice during the following month (January, 1556), and a few weeks later the Council of Ten, as a safeguard against the danger revealed by Marco da Risano,

granted him an arms-permit for twenty-five of his attendants. Perhaps the King of France had warned him also to be on his guard, for Noailles had written to Henry II. in the previous December, urging him to warn Courtenay, as Courtenay might be useful in the Anglo-French conspiracies, and Henry, in his letter of December 28, had replied that he would do so ("Ambassades," Vol. V.). The following June found the exile in the country of the Duke of Ferrara, the ally of France, and secret intelligence reached Simon Renard in London before the end of that month to the effect that he had agreed "to what was desired of him by the King of France." Other news came that he had promised Henry Killegrew, one of the refugees, to join the English rebels in France in order to share in their projected descent on the English coast. Dr. Wotton gives this information in his letter to Sir William Petre, dated Paris July 13, 1556 (Foreign Calendar, Mary), in which he states that Killegrew had returned, and had been at the French Court for three or four days. "In the mean season," says Wotton, "he lay one night with Captain Crayer," Wotton's informant, "to whom he said, 'I know as much of the Earl of Devonshire's mind as another, and he will be here at Court very shortly, and trusteth well that you will take part with him.'" Writing on August 4 to Queen Mary, in the same manner, Wotton adds "that it is also reported that the Earl of Devonshire will join them [the rebels] very shortly." Whether or not Courtenay really meant to run his head into this new danger when death overtook him it is now impossible to say.

Perhaps death was the happiest issue out of Courtenay's afflictions. It certainly helped to improve Elizabeth's position. Kate Ashley was set at liberty, "but deprived," as Michiel informs the Doge of Venice, "not only of her office as governess, but forbidden ever again to go to her ladyship," and Elizabeth herself, who was still at Hatfield, was permitted at the end of November to join the Court:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *December* 1, 1556.

. . . Three days ago Miladi Elizabeth arrived from the country, fifteen miles off, with a handsome

retinue, having with her, including lords and gentlemen, upwards of 200 horsemen clad in her own livery, and dismounted at her own house [Somerset Place], where she has remained ever since, to the infinite pleasure of this entire population, though she was not met by any of the lords or gentlemen of the Court, but many visited her subsequently. Three days afterwards she went to the Queen, and according to report was received very graciously and familiarly. Yesterday she returned thither to take leave, having at length had an interview with the Cardinal [Pole], whom she visited even in his own chamber, he never having seen her until then, although last year they both resided at the Court for a whole month with their apartments very near each other. It cannot yet be ascertained whether she came for any other purpose than that of visiting the Queen, she having with great earnestness solicited to come, and not having been called. With this opportunity I (according to the custom of my predecessors), now that she seems to be in good favour with Her Majesty, will not fail to visit her before her departure, not having done so hitherto.

Michiel, unfortunately, was recalled to Venice before he had an opportunity of paying his promised visit to Elizabeth, but in the following extract from the account of English affairs—disparaged by Froude but defended in the Venetian State Papers by Rawdon Brown—which he presented to the Venetian Senate a few months later, we have a vivid study of the rival sisters, and of Elizabeth's position at Court, as seen by a shrewd and dispassionate observer:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE VENETIAN SENATE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

MAY 13, 1557.

. . . One of the causes of the Queen's distress proceeds from hatred, owing to her evil disposition towards her sister my Lady Elizabeth, which although dissembled,

it cannot be denied that she displays in many ways the scorn and ill will she bears her ; the Queen, whenever she sees her, fancying herself in the presence of the affronts and ignominious treatment to which she was subjected on account of her mother, from whom in great part the divorce from Queen Catherine originated. But what disquiets her most of all is to see the eyes and hearts of the nation already fixed on this lady as successor to the Crown from despair of descent from the Queen, to whom the demonstration and the thought are by so much the more bitter and odious as it would be most grievous, not only to her but to any one to see the illegitimate child of a criminal who was punished as a public strumpet, on the point of inheriting the throne with better fortune than herself, whose descent is rightful, legitimate, and regal. Besides this the Queen's hatred is increased by knowing her to be averse to the present religion, she having not only been born in the other, but being versed and educated in it ; for although externally she showed, and by living catholically shows, that she has recanted, she is nevertheless supposed to dissemble, and to hold to it more than ever internally.

Of this sister of hers I must remind your Serenity that after the repudiation of Queen Catherine (the present Queen's mother) she was born of Henry VIII. and of his second wife Anne Boleyn, an Englishwoman and of noble birth, although two years afterwards she was beheaded for adultery. My Lady Elizabeth was born in September, 1533, so she is now 23 years old. She is a young woman whose mind is considered no less excellent than her person, although her face is comely rather than handsome, but she is tall and well formed, with a good skin, although swarthy ; she has fine eyes and above all a beautiful hand of which she makes a display ; and her intellect and understanding are wonderful, as she showed very plainly by her conduct when in danger and under suspicion. As a linguist she excels the Queen, for besides Latin she has no slight knowledge of Greek,

and speaks Italian more than the Queen does, taking so much pleasure in it that from vanity she will never speak any other language with Italians. She is proud and haughty, as although she knows that she was born of such a mother, she nevertheless does not consider herself of inferior degree to the Queen, whom she equals in self-esteem; nor does she believe herself less legitimate than Her Majesty, alleging in her own favour that her mother would never cohabit with the King unless by way of marriage, with the authority of the Church, and the intervention of the Primate of England; so that even if deceived, having as a subject acted with good faith, the fact cannot have invalidated her mother's marriage, nor her own birth, she having been born under the same faith; and supposing her to be a bastard, she prides herself on her father and glories in him; everybody saying that she also resembles him more than the Queen does; and he therefore always liked her and had her brought up in the same way as the Queen, and bequeathed to to each of them 10,000 *scudi*[1] per annum, and, what matters more, substituted her in the stead of the Queen as successor to the Crown, should he die without male heirs. She now lives upon this settlement from her father, but is always in debt, and would be much more so did she not steadily restrain herself to avoid any increase of the Queen's hatred and anger, either by increasing the number of gentlemen and servants of her household, or by adding to her expenditure in any other way; and here I may add that there is not a lord or gentleman in the kingdom who has failed, and continues endeavouring, to enter her service himself or to place one of his sons or brothers in it, such being the love and affection borne her. When requested to take servants she always excuses herself on account of the straits and poverty in which she is kept, and by this astute and judicious apology she adroitly incites a tacit compassion for herself and consequently yet greater affection, as it seems strange

[1] About £2,000 in English money.

and vexatious to everybody that being the daughter of a King she should be treated and acknowledged so sparingly. Since Wyatt's rebellion she may be said never to have been at liberty, for although she is allowed to live at a house of hers called Hatfield, twelve miles from London, the Queen has nevertheless many spies and guards in the neighbourhood, who keep strict watch on all persons passing to and fro, nor is anything said or done that is not immediately reported to the Queen, so she is obliged to act very cautiously.

At the time of the Queen's pregnancy, Lady Elizabeth, when made to come to the Court, contrived so to ingratiate herself with all the Spaniards, and especially with the King, that ever since no one has favoured her more than he does; for not only would he not permit but opposed and prevented the Queen's wish to have her disinherited and declared a bastard by Act of Parliament, and consequently ineligible to the throne, which, besides affection, implies some particular design on the part of the King with regard to her. His Majesty also dissuaded and prevented the Queen from sending her out of the kingdom, to Spain or elsewhere, as she wished to do. From this your Serenity can comprehend what the Queen thinks of her, for there is no doubt whatever but that had not Her Majesty been restrained by the King, and by the fear of some insurrection, she for any trifling cause would gladly have inflicted every sort of punishment on her; so great is the effect produced by recollection, not only of past offences but also of present ones, for it unfortunately appears that never is a conspiracy discovered in which either justly or unjustly she or some of her servants are not mentioned. But the respects to which I have alluded hold the Queen's hand, and having no suitable cause to proceed against her she dissembles her hatred and anger as much as she can, and endeavours when they are together in public to receive her with every sort of graciousness and honour, nor does she ever

converse with her about any but agreeable subjects. Such is the position of my Lady Elizabeth, of whose marriage and of what may be hoped about it, your Serenity will be better able to form an opinion when I shall have occasion to speak about the succession to the Crown. . . .

To proceed now to the competitors for the succession. The first and principal one is my Lady Elizabeth, the Queen's sister, who by her father's will was declared his heir and substituted for the Queen, the will being confirmed by Act of Parliament, which signifies, by the will of the whole kingdom.

She is opposed by the nearest relations of King Henry, namely, the descendants of his sisters, who maintain that kings cannot dispose of the succession of their kingdoms to the prejudice of succeeding generations, otherwise than it is ordained by God and by nature, as she, being a bastard, cannot take precedence of the legitimate heirs; and the Act of Parliament in favour of her is styled by them an act of violence, it not having been made by the will and free election of the Parliament, but from fear of the King, the which Act the Parliament can annul, as seen daily, and as was done by the Act which excluded the present Queen as disqualified and a bastard.

My Lady Elizabeth being thus excluded as disqualified, the second competitor is the heir of King Henry's eldest sister Margaret, who was married in Scotland, from whom Mary Queen of Scotland, now in France, descends, she being the daughter of King James, Margaret's son. Although this claimant seems to be opposed by a municipal law of the kingdom, which prohibits a person born out of England from inheriting anything within the realm, her supporters nevertheless raise the same objection to this law as they did to the King's will, namely, that a municipal law, even were it a true one, which they utterly deny, cannot in the case of succession be opposed to the law of nature, because neither by law, by testament, or donation, nor by any other sort of

compact or convention, can a successor be deprived of his natural right, constituted by God, except by force, or when the heir is acknowledged to be a rebel and traitor, and after condemnation as such; and admitting this to have been the law, they say that it was not made prior to the marriage of Margaret to the King of Scotland,[1] as it is not to be found amongst the ancient statutes of the Crown, and that the Act was passed subsequently to invalidate her claim.[2]

With these and other arguments they justify the claim of Mary Queen of Scotland, which would be yet more strengthened in case of need by the might and power of the King of France, she being at his Court as the destined wife of Monseigneur the Dauphin.

The third claimants are the heirs of King Henry VIII.'s younger sister Mary, who was first married to King Louis XII. of France, and took for her second husband Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. These claimants, the granddaughters of Mary Tudor,[3] born of her eldest daughter Frances, besides their natural right, were confirmed as heirs by the will of the said Henry VIII., and substituted for the present Queen and for Elizabeth in the event of their dying without heirs. The unfortunate Lady Jane Grey was their sister, and their father was also beheaded at the same time. These two young ladies are living with their mother,[4] the Duchess of Suffolk, and on the death of

[1] Henry VII. agreed to the treaty for the marriage of the Princess Margaret to the King of Scotland at the beginning of 1502, when the Republic of Venice congratulated him on it.

[2] "It is evident that the vulgar opinion alluded to by Michiel arose from the law of private inheritance being construed into a rule for the succession."—Sir Henry Ellis, who reproduced a copy of Michiel's "Report" in 1827 in his "Original Letters Illustrative of English History."

[3] Namely, Lady Katherine Grey, who married Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and died a prisoner in the Tower in 1567; and Lady Mary Grey, who married Martin Keys, Esq., and died without issue.

[4] At the period in question there were two Duchesses of Suffolk, one the widow of Charles Brandon (his fourth and last wife, who was at Venice in 1554); the other Frances, Lady Brandon, the Duke's eldest daughter, married to Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset (afterwards Duke of Suffolk), and secondly to Adrian Stokes. Michiel is alluding to the widow of Henry Grey, and not to the relict of Charles Brandon. —*Rawdon Brown.*

Queen Mary they, like their eldest sister, who was assisted by her husband or by others who had followers, would lay claim to the succession, in preference even to my Lady Elizabeth.

The fourth claim proceeds from another only daughter of the younger sister of the Lady Frances, by name Eleanor, who was married to the Earl of Cumberland,[1] and died shortly after giving birth to a daughter named Margaret, now married to Lord Strange,[2] the eldest son of the Earl of Derby, one of the chief noblemen of the kingdom, so she is first cousin to the daughters of Frances, whose house being convicted of treason on account of Jane who was beheaded, her sisters likewise, being themselves reproached with the same crime, are consequently excluded from the succession; so that Margaret Lady Strange is the nearest of all to the blood royal, and to her the succession belongs.

It is thus seen that all these claimants are in the female line, the male competitors being much farther removed since the recent death at Padua[3] of the Queen's only cousin, Lord Courtenay, who solely by his own fault failed to be her husband and consequently King. Through his death the English have utterly lost the hope of ever having a king of the blood royal, unless in a very remote degree.

The scene again returns to Hatfield, for Elizabeth's freedom at Court in December had been extremely shortlived. Perhaps it was because Mary disliked the too flattering marks of attention which commons and nobles alike paid to the rising star; perhaps it was due to the continued refusal of the Princess to fall in with Philip's scheme of marrying her to his cousin, Emmanuel Philibert; but in either case Elizabeth was compelled to return to her own house at Hatfield

[1] Henry Clifford, second Earl.

[2] The marriage took place on February 7, 1555. Henry Stanley, Lord Strange, became fourth Earl of Derby on November 16, 1580.

[3] (See p. 220.)

after staying but five days in London, instead of spending the whole winter there as she had hoped. Philip had written to Mary urging her to hasten matters in connexion with his matrimonial scheme, and Mary, to whom his word was law, was thoroughly enraged when her sister persisted in her refusal, protesting her unalterable devotion to a life of maidenhood. The zeal with which this match was pursued immediately after the death of Courtenay favours the idea, as Miss Strickland suggests, "that a positive contract of marriage had subsisted between the unfortunate nobleman and the Princess, which had formed a legal impediment to her entering into any other matrimonial engagement during his life." Elizabeth appears to have taken unwonted fright at the Queen's anger over this affair. She even thought of escaping to France, where a refuge had often been offered her on behalf of the astute King Henry, whose real object, of course, was to obtain possession of the chief obstacle—failing the birth of an heir to Mary—between his prospective daughter-in-law, Mary Stuart, and the throne of England. It was fortunate for Elizabeth at this crisis that Antoine de Noailles had been superseded by his brother François, the Bishop of Acqs (now called Dax), to whom Elizabeth sent the Countess of Sussex in disguise to beg his assistance. The Bishop himself had written to his master that the Princess was so ill in consequence of her treatment at Court that her life seemed to be in danger. When the Countess of Sussex visited him on her secret mission he was sincere enough to tell her "that it was an unwise project, and that he would advise the Princess to take example by the conduct of her sister, who, if she had listened to the counsels of those who would have persuaded her to take refuge with the Emperor [on Northumberland's attempt to deprive her of the throne], would still have remained in exile." The Countess returned again to him on the same errand, and he then plainly told her "that if ever Elizabeth hoped to ascend the throne of England, she must never leave the realm." A few years later the Bishop declared that it was due to his advice in this connexion that Elizabeth owed him her crown.

Meantime the laggard Philip was preparing to return to

his expectant Queen, and his coming again cleared the prospect for Elizabeth, who was allowed to return to Court before the end of February, 1557. Mary's joy at having Philip again by her side — he arrived at Greenwich on March 20, after an absence of nineteen months—was considerably qualified by her anxieties on account of the renewal of hostilities between Philip and Henry II. It was mainly the war, indeed, which had brought Philip back, for he was eager to drag England into the conflict; but he was anxious also to settle his scheme for the marriage of Elizabeth and Emmanuel Philibert. In the uncertain state of affairs then existing he wanted to see his sister-in-law safely allied to one upon whose friendship he could count. Philip's hopes were realised in regard to the war, thanks mainly to the rashness of Henry II. in associating himself with Thomas Stafford and his handful of rebels, who sailed from France with the avowed object of defeating "the devilish devices of Mary, unrightful and unworthy Queen," and landed at Scarborough in April: a foolish effort, which, though it failed ignominiously, was sufficient to drag England into the war with France. In regard to Elizabeth, however, Philip was forced to acknowledge defeat, in spite of the efforts of the two Duchesses of Parma and Lorraine, his cousins, whom he had brought in his train in order to bring their influence to bear upon the reluctant Princess. Elizabeth, however, having already returned to Hatfield, succeeded in evading them, and it was not long before the course of events called Philip back to the Continent. England declared war against France on June 7, and Philip said good-bye to Mary for the last time on July 3, 1557, little knowing that they would never meet again. The new campaign opened auspiciously with the victory of St. Quentin, but any advantage gained was discounted by the loss of Calais at the beginning of the following year.

For Mary this loss was the overflowing drop in a cup which had long been filled to the brim with grief and disappointment. The one worldly hope to which she could now cling was the unfounded belief that she would yet give birth to a Catholic heir to the throne, but here again disillusionment soon came. Elizabeth, content to remain in

the background, now spent most of her time with Sir Thomas Pope and the rest of her household in the calm confines of Hatfield—a significant but inconspicuous figure in the rapid march of international events. Her retirement probably accounts for the lack of letters relating to her personal doings at this critical period, though there are several stories of hunting and other trips, and of a summer visit from Mary herself, all of which are open to considerable doubt. Elizabeth played her cards well throughout, careful to make no false move that would place her rights in jeopardy; so that when the King of Sweden, in the spring of 1558, sent her, on behalf of his son, a secret proposal for her hand, she declined to enter into any negotiations of the kind which were not first submitted to the Queen. Mary, who was highly pleased when she heard of this affair, sent a message through Sir Thomas Pope expressing keen appreciation o her sister's conduct. Pope was also commissioned to sound his charge on the subject of matrimony in general, with the following result:

SIR THOMAS POPE TO QUEEN MARY.

[Aikin's "*Court of Queen Elizabeth.*" From the *Harleian MSS.*]

April 26, 1558.

First after I had declared to her Grace how well the Queen's Majesty liked of her prudent and honourable answer made to the [Swedish] messenger, I then opened unto her Grace the effects of the said messenger's credence; which after her Grace had heard, I said, the Queen's Highness had sent me to her Grace, not only to declare the same, but also to understand how her Grace liked the said motion. Whereunto, after a little pause taken, her Grace answered in form following: "Master Pope, I require you, after my most humble commendations to the Queen's Majesty, to render unto the same like thanks that it pleased her Highness, of her goodness, to conceive so well of my answer made to the same messenger; and herewithal, of her princely consideration, with such speed

to command you by your letters to signify the same unto me: who before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing that Her Majesty might mistake the same: for which her goodness, I acknowledge myself bound to honour, serve, love, and obey her Highness during my life. Requiring you also to say unto Her Majesty, that in the King my brother's time there was offered me a very honourable marriage, or two; and ambassadors sent to treat with me touching the same; whereupon I made my humble suit unto his Highness, as some of honour yet living can be testimonies, that it would like the same to give me leave, with his Grace's favour, to remain in that estate I was, which of all others best liked me, or pleased me. And, in good faith, I pray you say unto her Highness, I am even at this present of the same mind, and so intend to continue, with Her Majesty's favour: and assuring her Highness I so well like this estate, as I persuade myself there is not any kind of life comparable unto it. And as concerning my liking the said motion made by the said messenger, I beseech you say unto Her Majesty that to my remembrance I never heard of his master before this time; and that I so well like both the message and the messenger, as I shall most humbly pray God upon my knees that from henceforth I never hear of the one nor the other: assure you that if he should eftsoons repair unto me, I would forbear to speak to him. And were there nothing else to move me to mislike the motion, other than that his master would attempt the same without making the Queen's Majesty privy thereunto, it were cause sufficient."

And when her Grace had thus ended, I was so bold as of myself to say unto her Grace, her pardon first required that I thought few or none would believe but that her Grace could be right well contented to marry; so that there were some honourable marriage offered her by the Queen's Highness, or by Her Majesty's assent. Whereunto her Grace answered, "What I shall do hereafter I know not; but I assure

you, upon my truth and fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I am not at this time otherwise minded than I have declared unto you; no, though I were offered the greatest prince in all Europe." And yet perchance the Queen's Majesty may conceive this rather to proceed of a maidenly shamefacedness, than upon any such certain determination.

According to Leti, Elizabeth herself wrote to Mary on this occasion:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO QUEEN MARY.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

Madame, my dear Sister,—However deeply I may have fallen into disgrace with your Majesty, I have always felt that you were so just and good that I have never imputed the cause to anything but my own ill-fortune. And even if my troubles had been a thousand times greater they would have been incapable of removing from my heart the loyalty and respect which I owe to your Majesty. The ties of blood by which we are united make me devotedly attached to your interests, and I am ever inspired by a perfect submission to the Royal and Sovereign authority of your Majesty. The answer which I gave to the Swedish ambassador is an evidence of my obedience; I could not have replied in any other manner without failing in my duty to you. But the thanks, which you have been pleased to send me by Mr. Pope, is only a part of your generous kindness, which has filled me with affection and gratitude for you. I can assure you, Madame, that since I have been old enough to reason, I have had no other thought in my heart for you except the love which one owes to a sister, and, even more, the profound respect which is due to a mistress and a queen. My feelings will never change, and I should welcome, with much pleasure, opportunities of showing you that I

am your Majesty's very obedient servant and sister, ELIZABETH.

Philip meantime had sent to Mary his confidential friend and adviser, the Count de Feria, partly to congratulate her on the announcement that she had sent him of her new hopes of an heir to the throne—hopes which he probably knew to be illusory, though he so far humoured her as to say that her letter contained the best news that he had heard since the loss of Calais. Feria's main object in coming, however, was to get what help he could in ships and money to support Philip in his campaign. Having squeezed all that he could out of the Queen and Council, Feria, who later in the same year married Mary's favourite attendant, the beautiful daughter of Sir William Dormer, returned in July to his master in Brussels. Before leaving he paid a visit—on receiving Philip's instructions to do so—to the Lady Elizabeth, who was still at Hatfield; and wrote on June 23 expressing himself well satisfied with the result of the interview. As the subject of their conversation was too important to be communicated by letter—Feria stating that he would tell the King verbally on his return—it is safe to assume that it had to do with Elizabeth's succession in the event of Mary's death. When Charles V. died in September, Philip, according to Leti, took the trouble to send his sister-in-law special notification of the fact, the following letter being printed by the Italian historian as her reply to the King:

PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO KING PHILIP.

["*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies.*" Translated from Leti.]

October 19, 1558.

Sire and dearest cousin,—The honour which your Majesty has done me by sending a gentleman to advertise me of the death of the august Emperor, your father, of most glorious memory, agreeably reminds me that your Majesty continues to honour me with that generous good-will which you have been pleased ever to bestow on me, and from which I have felt so much advantage that, in calling to mind these

graces and favours, I can find no other fit means of evincing my gratitude than by earnestly remembering that the life I enjoy is equally the fruit of the Queen my sister's goodness and of your Majesty's magnanimous protection.

You do me justice, Sire, in being persuaded that I feel as much joy at the victories you gain, and the happy successes that attend your arms, as I am pierced with affliction at the distresses which befall you. The happiness I have in being so nearly allied to you, and not less my veneration, esteem, and obligation for your Majesty's great merit, touch me too sensibly not to make me sympathise with you in the loss of a father so great and glorious. But since I should offer some consolation to your affliction, I cannot do it better than by reminding you that your august father thought death so glorious that he wished to die before his time came to quit this world. And it is certain that if his life has been an epitome of wonders, his death will also be a miracle of glory to all posterity. We ought not, then, to mourn the Emperor Charles, your father, as one dead; we ought rather to look on him as one who shall live in all future ages; and, if his body be reduced to ashes, his name is too immortal ever to die. I am employed at present in reading the history of his warlike actions, and his great feats of courage and valour, in order to redouble, by the glorious memory of the father, the veneration and esteem which I have for the son.

I pray God that, amidst the afflictions which such a loss causes you, he may load your life with prosperity and happiness; so shall I ever, with greater satisfaction, assure you that I am your Majesty's very humble servant and sister-in-law, ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER VIII

ELIZABETH'S TRIUMPH (1558—1559)

Mary's last days — Philip unable to come — The Count de Feria's mission—Mary recognises Elizabeth's right to the Succession—Death of the Queen—Elizabeth's Proclamation—Cardinal Pole's deathbed message to Elizabeth—Spain's vanishing influence—Feria's letter to Philip—Elizabeth's Court removes from Hatfield to London—Her letter to Philip—Early talk of Philip's plan to marry Elizabeth—France and Mary Stuart's claim to the English Crown—The Peace negotiations—Elizabeth and her rival suitors—The religious question—First signs of change—Philip's lost opportunity—Condescends to offer his hand to Elizabeth—French attempt to negotiate secret Peace Treaty—Elizabeth's Coronation—Opening of her first Parliament—The struggle for Calais—Philip decides to marry Elizabeth de Valois—His indecisive policy in England—Peace, and the parting of the ways.

MARY'S end was now fast approaching, an attack of fever aggravating her constitutional disorder. Few gleams of sunshine brightened her last days, save those which came from the faith which had been her sheet-anchor all her life. It was one of the dramatic situations that by joining in the war she had come into open hostility with the Pope, the ally of France. No one had felt more deeply than the Queen the national humiliation when the fall of Calais, followed by that of Guisnes, robbed England of her last hold on French soil. Disappointed in her tenderest hopes, tormented by anxieties concerning her consort, as well as by the personal animosity of Pope Paul IV. towards her kinsman Cardinal Pole, it is not surprising that the weight of all these burdens proved more than she could bear. Philip heard of the alarming development of her illness when his hands were full of the preliminary negotiations for peace with France, the first meeting of the Commissioners having been held on October 15. Unable himself to leave, he again despatched the Count de Feria to England, this time to look after the King's interests and to explain his absence to the dying Queen. The King's intentions are well set out in the

following letter from the Venetian Ambassador who was with Philip at the time:

MICHIEL SURIAN TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

ARRAS, *October* 29, 1558.

A few days ago His Majesty received news from England that the Queen was grievously ill, and her life in danger, which intelligence, most especially at the present moment, being of very great importance, so disquieted His Majesty and all these Lords that it was immediately determined to send the Count de Feria to visit the Queen in the name of her consort, and to treat another affair which I will narrate hereunder, but, as when the Count was about to depart, a fresh advice arrived that Her Majesty's health had improved, he therefore delayed his departure for three or four days longer, and in the meanwhile his household at Brussels is preparing to cross over with him to England, a sign that he will not return hither so speedily.

Now the matter to be treated by him is the marriage of "Miladi" Elizabeth, to keep that kingdom in any event in the hands of a person in His Majesty's confidence. Last year King Philip gave an order to this effect to his confessor, who is very dear to the Queen, he laying before her all the considerations both of religion and piety, and of the safety of the realms, and to prevent the evils which might occur were Lady Elizabeth, seeing herself slighted, to choose after Her Majesty's death, or perhaps even during her lifetime, to take for her husband some individual who might convulse the whole kingdom into confusion. For many days during which the confessor treated this business, he found the Queen utterly averse to give Lady Elizabeth any hope of the succession, obstinately maintaining that she was neither her sister nor the daughter of the Queen's father, King Henry, nor would she hear of favouring her, as she was born of an infamous woman, who

had so greatly outraged the Queen her mother and herself. Notwithstanding this, the confessor, assiduously and adroitly persevering in this design, effected so much that Her Majesty consented to do what the King wished, he expressing great satisfaction at this, but two days later the Queen changed her mind, and the confessor lays the blame on Cardinal Pole, who, as the project had not been communicated to him, may have performed some contrary office, ignoring that such was the will of the King.

Now that things have been in such danger, owing to the Queen's malady, they are sending the Count de Feria that he may try and revive this project, and realise it, but I do not yet know whether with the Duke of Savoy or others, nor can it be known for certain until this peace is concluded or excluded; but the Count's instructions purport that he is to try and dispose the Queen to consent to Lady Elizabeth being married as her sister, and with the hope of succeeding to the crown, this negotiation having to be treated with the greatest possible secrecy, because these Lords suspect that were the French to come to know it, they would easily find means to thwart the project, as the greater part of England is opposed to the Queen, and most hostile to King Philip and his dependants, and much inclined towards Miladi Elizabeth, who has always shown greater liking for the French faction than for this other, being thus habituated in the time of her brother King Edward, when at the summit of her grandeur.

I heard this thing from a great personage who took part in this consultation, and had a hand in the business heretofore, and he bound me to secrecy, as should it be known my informant would be put to shame and perhaps to loss, nor would it be for your Serenity's advantage nor for the honour of your representatives.

Feria reached London on November 9, but Mary, already on her deathbed in St. James's Palace, had accepted Elizabeth as her successor three days before the Spaniard arrived.

Froude is therefore mistaken when he credits Feria with the distinction of having been the means of obtaining from Mary the deathbed recognition of Elizabeth's rights. Mary's only conditions were that Elizabeth should pay the Queen's debts and maintain the Catholic faith as she found it, to both of which the coming Queen appears to have agreed. According to the Memoirs of Jane Dormer, Mary's trusted companion, who after her marriage to Count de Feria followed him to Spain, Elizabeth, when charged on this occasion with the maintenance of the orthodox religion, declared vehemently "that she prayed God that the earth might open and swallow her alive, if she were not a true Roman Catholic." It is curious to compare this story with the very different version given by Edwin Sandys in the letter printed on p. 280, a letter which loses much of its weight from the fact that Sandys was not in England at the time, and merely repeats the statement sent to him by a nameless correspondent at home. Elizabeth was at Hatfield, anxiously awaiting the inevitable change, when the Queen died at daybreak on November 17. The Acts of the united Houses of Parliament respecting her recognition were all completed before noon, after which the new Queen was proclaimed amid scenes of intense enthusiasm both at Westminster and at the Cross of Cheapside. We are able to print the Royal Proclamation from Lord Ellesmere's manuscript copy, which appears in "The Egerton Papers," published by the Camden Society. The proclamation was drawn up by Sir William Cecil, who, having already been marked out by Elizabeth as her future Secretary of State, had spent the last few days in running backwards and forwards to Hatfield in order to make as many preliminary arrangements for the new rule as possible. The prudent Cecil, who always kept a farseeing eye on the probable course of events, had been able—as we have already seen—to make himself useful to Elizabeth in various little ways, and, like Elizabeth, had conformed to the Catholic religion. He was the first Minister to be sworn at the new Queen's Privy Council meeting, which took place at Hatfield after the reading of the Royal Proclamation in London. Elizabeth seized the opportunity to address Cecil on the duties which he was expected to perform to his Queen and country:

"I give you this charge that you shall be of my Privy Council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted by any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the State; and that, without respect to my private will, you will give me that counsel which you think best, and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein, and therefore herewith I charge you."

A noble expression of confidence, remarks Dr. Creighton in printing this address, "which was well requited through a long and laborious life."

PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

["*Egerton Papers.*"]

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. Because it hath pleased Almighty God by calling to His mercy out of this mortal life, to our great grief, our dearest sister of noble memory, Mary, late Queen of England, France and Ireland (whose soul God have), to dispose and bestow upon us, as the only right heir by blood and lawful succession to the Crown of the aforesaid kingdoms of England, France and Ireland, with all manner of titles and right thereunto in any wise appertaining, We do publish and give knowledge of this our proclamation to all manner of people, being natural subjects of every the said kingdoms, that from the beginning of the 17th day of this month of November, at which time our said dearest sister departed from this mortal life, they be discharged of all bonds and duty of subjection towards our said sister, and be from the same time in nature and law bound only to us as their only Sovereign Lady and Queen, wherewith we do by this our proclamation straightly charge and ally them to us, promising on our part no less love and care towards their preservation than hath been in any of our progenitors, and not doubting on

their parts but they will observe the duty which belongeth to natural good and true loving subjects. And further we straightly charge and command all manner our said subjects to keep themselves within our peace, and not to attempt upon any pretence the breach, alteration or change of any order or usage presently established within this our realm, upon pain of our indignation, and the peril and punishment which thereto in any wise may belong. Given the 18th day of November, the first year of our reign.

All London rejoiced at the news of Elizabeth's accession. There was no mourning for the dead Queen, for whom the same city bells had clamoured their welcome only six years before. The fires of Smithfield had destroyed her old popularity with most of the citizens, and all were glad that the Spanish rule had come to an end. So the city bells rang in triumph for England and Elizabeth; ale and wine were handed round; tables were spread in the streets for an open feast for every one; and, as the short November day drew in, bonfires were lighted round which to continue the celebrations far into the night. In the midst of all these noisy demonstrations died Mary's devoted friend and kinsman, Cardinal Pole, whose neglect of the Princess when they were at Court together in 1555—referred to by Michiel in his letter of December 1, 1556—was bitterly remembered by Elizabeth, as she told Feria when he visited her a week before the Queen's death. Her angry words appear to have reached the dying Cardinal, for on the 14th he sent his chaplain, the Dean of Worcester, with the following letter to the Princess in the hope of reconciliation. Strype, unfortunately, does not tell us what message was returned to the Cardinal:

CARDINAL POLE TO PRINCESS ELIZABETH.

[Strype's "*Annals of the Reformation.*"]

LAMBETH, *November* 14, 1558.

It may please your Grace to understand, that albeit the long continuance and vehemency of my sickness

be such as justly might move me, casting away all cares of this world, only to think of that to come; yet not being convenient for me to determine of life or death, which is only in the hand of God, I thought it my duty, before I should depart, so nigh as I could, to leave all persons satisfied of me, and especially your Grace, being of that honour and dignity that the providence of God hath called you unto. For which purpose I do send you at this present mine faithful chaplain, the Dean of Worcester; to whom may it please your Grace to give credit in that he shall say unto you in my behalf. I doubt not but that your Grace shall remain satisfied thereby. Whom Almighty God long prosper to His honour, your comfort, and the wealth of the realm. By your Grace's orator, REG. CAR. CANTUARIEN.

Elizabeth remained in retirement at Hatfield for six days after Mary's death, and it was not until the 19th that her proclamation was made before the gates of Hatfield House. Meantime the Count de Feria was busy making inquiries as to his master's prospects. He had a keen appreciation of the dangers of the new situation from the Spanish point of view, but he did not fully realise that it meant the parting of the ways—that England was already out of hand. Philip's absence, Mary's long illness, and the remorseless persecutions in the name of religion had furnished golden opportunities for the strengthening of Elizabeth's party. The unpopularity of the war with France, with the heavy burdens which it imposed on an impoverished people, had served to unite all Englishmen—save the zealots who were Catholics first and Englishmen afterwards—in a common cause against the Spanish alliance. It was a mortifying position for Philip, and his friend Feria does not mince matters in the letter to His Majesty, dated four days after Mary's death, in which he admirably sums up the position as he found it in London. This is the letter with which Major Martin Hume begins his invaluable "Calendar of Spanish State Papers relating to Elizabeth":

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO KING PHILIP.

[*Spanish State Papers.*]

LONDON, *November* 21, 1558.

I wrote on the 14th, but have learnt that the courier could not leave Dover until the 17th. On the latter day our lady the Queen died. She had been unconscious most of the time since I arrived, but always in the fear of God and love of Christianity. Indeed the nation soon sees what a good Christian she was, for since it was known that she was dying they have begun to treat the images and religious persons disrespectfully. The morning before Her Majesty died the Chancellor and the rest of the Council went into her chamber, and before the women, doctors and others on duty there, they read the Queen's will. Her Majesty was not conscious at the time. The will was read by the Missioner (Master) of the Rolls, and on arriving at a part where there were some legacies left to servants they ordered the reader to pass on without reading any of them. They tell me that this is the way the wills of the Kings of England are always fulfilled; that is to say just as the Council likes. I think your Majesty must have a copy of the will, from what I heard when I was here last, and I have therefore said nothing to the Council about it and have made no inquiries except what people have told me. Your Majesty will send me orders if I am to move in this, and if you have a copy of the will it would be advisable to see it again, as also the marriage treaty, and although as I have written to your Majesty it is very early yet to talk about marriage the confusion and ineptitude of these people in all their affairs make it necessary for us to be the more circumspect, so as not to miss the opportunities which are presented to us, and particularly in the matter of marriage. For this and other reasons (if there be no objection) it will be well to send me a copy of the (marriage) treaty, which, though it may not be very necessary, will at least serve

to post me up as to what would be touched upon, although a new treaty would be different from the last.

The new Queen and her people hold themselves free from your Majesty and will listen to any ambassadors who may come to treat of marriage. Your Majesty understands better than I how important it is that this affair should go through your hands, which as I have said will be difficult except with great negotiation and money. I therefore wish your Majesty to keep in view all the steps to be taken on your behalf, one of them being that the Emperor should not send any ambassador here to treat of this, for it would be inconvenient enough for Ferdinand to marry here even if he took the titbit from your Majesty's hand, but very much worse if it were arranged in any other way. For the present I know for certain they will not hear the name of the Duke of Savoy mentioned, as they fear he will want to recover his estates with English forces and will keep them constantly at war. I am very pleased to see that the nobles are all beginning to open their eyes to the fact that it will not do to marry this woman in the country itself.

The day on which the Queen died, after the customary proclamation was made at Westminster and London, the Council decided that the Chancellor, the Admiral, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Derby and William Howard, should go to the new Queen and perform the ordinary ceremonies, and that the remainder should stay behind, but everyone wanted to be first to get out. I sent Dasonleville to excuse me from going as I waited here according to her orders. She sent word that she was sorry she could not see him in consequence of her grief but that he was to speak to the Council, which he did, although he said more than he was instructed to say, which is his great fault. But it was all about his grief at the Queen's death, and congratulations on the new Queen's accession. They replied to him very civilly and affectionately. He says William Howard

made him great offers of service to your Majesty. William Howard has been made Lord Chamberlain; Lord Robert, the son of the late Duke of Northumberland, Master of the Horse, and his brother Lord Ambrose, Master of Artillery, the place that Southwell held. She has given the controllership to her late cofferer,[1] a fat man whom your Majesty will have seen at Hampton Court, and the secretaryship to Cecil. I am told that those who have up to the present been sworn as members of her Council are the Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Shrewsbury (Xeromberi), Admiral Clinton, the Earl of Bedford, William Howard, Paget, her former Controller, the cofferer she has now made her Controller and Secretary Cecil. I do not know of any more officials. The day our lady the Queen died Parliament was dissolved, and if they convoke it again forty days must pass by law. The commission held by the Earl of Arundel[2] and his colleagues in Flanders also expired, and it will be necessary to send them fresh credentials. It is said the Queen will come here during this week, and nothing can be attended to before then, not even a passport for Don Alonso de Cordova, the Regent of Arragon, and others who have come from Spain. They closed the ports as soon as the Queen died, and with the change of Queen and officers things are in such a hurly-burly and confusion that fathers do not know their own children.

Your Majesty's servants and pensioners here are already beginning to look upon themselves as dismissed without anything being said to them. I do not know what had better be done, whether to let them go thus without saying anything and pay only those we need, or to dismiss them. I think it would

[1] Thomas Parry, who, as a reward for his long service in Elizabeth's household, was also knighted and made a Privy Councillor.

[2] The Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton had been sent to represent England at the peace conference at Cercamp. The Spanish Commissioners were the Prince of Orange, Ruy Gomez, and the Bishop of Arras, and the French, Constable Montmorenci, Marshal d'André, and Secretary L'Aubespine.

be better to say nothing, but to pay those we want and some fresh ones. I await commands. If the Queen does not ask for a list of those in your pay or speak of the matter, I think it will be better not to stir it up, because if she should say that we are not to pay anybody, and afterwards found out that we did so, she would naturally be offended. I again remind your Majesty that it will be well to despatch Doctor Wotton in a very good humour and offer him a pension, or refer him to me to pay him one here, as he will be one of the most powerful of them, and, I am told, he may be made Archbishop of Canterbury.[1] I am not sure of this however.

The more I think over this business, the more certain I am that everything depends upon the husband this woman may take. If he be a suitable one religious matters will go on well, and the kingdom will remain friendly to your Majesty, but if not it will all be spoilt. If she decides to marry out of the country she will at once fix her eyes on your Majesty, although some of them here are sure to pitch upon the Archduke Ferdinand. I am not sure of all this, but only conjecture. I hope your Majesty will pardon the disorder and confusion of my letters, for things here are going on in such a way that it is quite impossible to get enlightened on anything, and if I wrote everything she and they say, I should never end. Really this country is more fit to be dealt with sword in hand than by cajolery, for there are neither funds, nor soldiers, nor heads, nor forces, and yet it is overflowing with every other necessary of life.

The body of our lady the Queen is kept until its interment in the chamber outside the one she slept in, and the house is served exactly as it was before.

[1] Nicholas Wotton, whose simultaneous tenure of the Deaneries of Canterbury and York is said to be unique, declined the Episcopacy on the score of personal unfitness. He had previously declined several offers of a bishopric, preferring diplomacy to the highest honours of the Church.

On the night of the day of the Queen's decease the Cardinal [Pole] also died. He was very weak and with continual fever, and his servants did not take care to conceal the death of the Queen from him. He was so afflicted by it that it hastened his end. Two days after he died the Queen sent the Earl of Rutland, Throckmorton, and an uncle of Peter Carew to embargo all his goods and take an inventory of them, as it was thought he was a very wealthy man, and if he received what they say he did, he must have been so. I have not been able to learn for certain yet. It was a mercy for God to take him and I do not think your Majesty loses much with him, according to what these people tell me, although I thought otherwise formerly.

The people are wagging their tongues a good deal about the late Queen having sent great sums of money to your Majesty, and that I have sent 200,000 ducats since I have been here. They say that it is through your Majesty that the country is in such want and that Calais was lost, and also that through your not coming to see the Queen our lady, she died of sorrow. The sorrow I feel, is that your Majesty should have allowed so much favour to be shown to this scurvy Lord Chamberlain Hastings, for it is he who is publishing these things, and is the greatest enemy our country has. The Controller and Boxall make much of me, but they are all as ungrateful to your Majesty as if they had never received anything from your hands. It is true that as they are naturally much put out and nobody knows what is to become of him, they are so giddy and confused that we must not judge them too hastily. The people are more free than ever, the heretics thinking that they will be able to persecute the Catholics, but things in this respect are somewhat quieter, as on the Sunday before the Queen died the priest who preached the sermon at St. Paul's told them to pray for the Pope. They see also that the new Queen goes to Mass. These people try to spread about everywhere that your Majesty will

in future have no more influence here than if you had never married the late Queen and with this object they wish the Queen not to be too ready to treat with me. She is very much wedded to the people and thinks as they do, and therefore treats foreigners slightingly. For this reason, and seeing that neither she nor they have done anything yet, I have decided to go on very quietly until things settle down and I see who is to take the lead. Up to the present nothing is certain and everyone talks as his wishes lead him; I wonder they have not sent me crazy. The whole point of it is (as I have said) the husband she chooses, and we must try by money arrangements that he shall be one agreeable to your Majesty.

They tell me the Queen left orders that she was to be buried either at Windsor or Westminster, and that the body of Queen Catherine, her mother, should also be brought thither. They have not yet decided which place it shall be, but the new Queen wishes it to be done with all solemnity.

Elizabeth was too shrewd to show her hand to Philip at this crisis. She had many difficulties to overcome before she could afford to make an enemy of her powerful brother-in-law. In the meanwhile she received her Council and all the statesmen and noblemen who had hurried down to Hatfield to take the oath of allegiance. On November 23 she began her progress to London, and on the same day, according to Leti, addressed the lengthy letter to Philip which follows. It is impossible to read this letter without suspecting its genuineness, but it is curious that the Foreign Calendar for Elizabeth includes a letter written by the Queen on the same day to the English Peace Commissioners in which she states that she has despatched Lord Cobham to the King of Spain, "as well to declare to him the death of Queen Mary, as also to give him to understand the good will and affection that she, the writer, has towards the continuance of the old and good amity and neighbourhood that hitherto has been between King Henry VIII., King Edward, and her late sister and the House of Burgundy and the Low Countries":

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING PHILIP.

[Leti: "*La Vie d'Elizabeth.*"]

November 23, 1558.

Sire,—Although the loss we have sustained in the death of the Queen, my sister, of glorious memory, has been conveyed to you, I have so much regard for you that I cannot refrain from sending you my condolences. I know that your Majesty needs no outside consolation; that you are able to find in yourself, and in the profound discretion and moderation which have made you the admiration of all the world, the comfort which you require. I do not mean to say that the duty which I offer you to-day will be anything more to you than an evidence of the loyalty and respect which I owe to your Majesty. The gentleman who brings you this letter has instructions to explain to you in person all that I feel in my heart on this occasion. For the rest, I will not offer your Majesty the usual compliments which are made to other princes at such times in order to preserve friendly relations between kingdoms, or even the protestations of friendship for the person of the King, as I am persuaded that your Majesty will do me the justice to believe that I am too deeply indebted to you for your intervention in my favour on many important occasions not to make a distinction between you and other princes at this time. It is for this reason that I have charged the gentleman who bears this to assure you of my real feelings, and to inform you, in detail, of all that has happened up to my accession, which took place amid much joy and happiness, and with great demonstrations of loyalty from the people.

I hope, therefore, that your Majesty will rejoice with me, when you learn that the maid who owes to your generosity, your clemency, and your chivalrous desire to protect innocence and to do justice, not only liberty, but even life itself, has ascended the throne—the road to which your Majesty, with so much prudence and skill, more than once cleared of the plots

and machinations which my enemies devised against me. My debt of gratitude to you is all the greater because it was on false pretexts regarding religion that they desired to take away my life, before they had even discovered what were my real convictions on the subject. I do not forget, my dear brother, the nature of your good offices in this matter, the arguments you laid before the Queen, my sister, above all with regard to her bad advisers, who filled her mind at every moment with pernicious advice, in order to further their unhappy enterprise; how your wisdom foiled them, until you had gained the Queen in my interests, and forced my greatest enemies to recognize my innocence and the justice of my cause.

My only motive in writing all this to your Majesty is to let you see that I do not forget your great kindness to me; that I recall with great pleasure my recollection of the obligations which I owe to you, and that I hope it will give you some satisfaction to see on the throne the person for whom you acquired it. I confess to you, with all the sincerity I possess, that while I am by no means indifferent to the honour which I owe, under God, to your goodness, and while I feel my heart swell with the pride which is only natural at such a time, my greatest happiness lies in the fact that I am now raised to a position in which I shall be able to show my gratitude to your Majesty by doing all that it prompts me for your service and for your interests. . . . All that I can ever do for your Majesty will only be a small part of my duty and my gratitude.

I hope also that your Majesty, who so freely gave me your protection in the time of my disgrace, will not show me less affection now that I have succeeded to the throne; and that after having saved my life you will also help me to avert any trouble which may arise in my kingdom. As to any business which you may have here relating to your marriage portion, or any other dues belonging to the late Queen, your wife and my sister, whenever it shall please your Majesty

to send some one to attend to the matter, I will instruct my Ministers to meet their wishes in every way that is possible, and to endeavour to remove any difficulties which may arise. I will leave to your prudence and wisdom the task of deciding on the administration which will best further the welfare of our people and our kingdom ; hoping that you will advise me of your decisions so that I may lay them before my Council, and assuring you that I am always ready to accept any plan which will tend to the good of the community. Regarding religion, I am not able to speak definitely, except that I will advise your Majesty of the reply which is made to Carne [Sir Edward Carne], who is in residence at Rome, and whom I have instructed to inform His Holiness of my accession to the crown. I have only resolved not to neglect my interests, and to do nothing which may be injurious to them. The bearer of this letter will tell you of anything else, and I will only add one word entreating you to pardon the length of my letter.

I remain your Majesty's very humble and obedient Servant and Sister, ELIZABETH, Queen of England.

Sir Edward Carne, to whom reference is made in the preceding letter, had been Mary's resident Ambassador at the Court of Rome, and the Leti letter, if genuine, seems to confirm the disputed statement that Elizabeth directed Carne to inform the Pope of her accession to the throne. Miss Strickland summarises the other evidence in favour of this statement in the following passage :

" With a view of keeping fair with the Catholic powers of Europe, and obtaining a recognition, that would ensure the obedience of her own subjects of that persuasion, she directed Carne, her late sister's resident Minister at the Court of Rome, to announce her accession to Pope Paul IV., and to assure him, that it was not her intention to offer violence to the consciences of any denomination of her subjects, on the score of religion.[1] The aged pontiff,

[1] Fra. Paolo. Lingard. Pallavicino.

incensed at the 'new doctrine of liberty of conscience' implied in this declaration, and regarding with hostile feelings the offspring of a marriage which had involved the overthrow of the papal power in England, replied 'that he was unable to comprehend the hereditary right of one not born in wedlock, that the Queen of Scots claimed the crown, as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII., but that if Elizabeth were willing to submit the controversy to his arbitration, every indulgence should be shown to her which justice would permit.'[1] Elizabeth immediately recalled her Minister. The Pope forbade his return, under peril of excommunication; and Carne, though he talked largely of his loyalty to his royal mistress, remained at Rome till his death."

Lingard contradicts this statement in his later editions, and Professor Maitland, in the "Cambridge Modern History," declares that, though Paul has much to answer for, it was no insult from him that made Elizabeth a Protestant. "It is certain now," he writes, "that in the matter of courtesy Elizabeth and not Paul was the offender. She ignored his existence. Edward Carne was living at Rome as Mary's ambassador. He received no letters of credence from the new Queen, and on the 1st of February, 1559, she told him to come home as she had nothing for him to do." The Leti letter, therefore, must be read with considerable caution. Certainly Carne's own letters among the State Papers appear to prove conclusively that the angry scene with the Pope in this connexion could never have taken place. He tells Cecil on December 31 that he had written on the 17th to congratulate the new Queen on her accession, having heard the common news from London of Mary's death, "though he had had no advertisement thereof therefrom"; and on February 16 he writes to inform Elizabeth herself that the French, who were pushing forward the claims of Mary Stuart, "can obtain nothing at his Holiness's hands against your Majesty, and that his Holiness has such respect to your Majesty and to your realms that he will attempt nothing against you or your

[1] Paolo Sarpis's Hist. Council of Trent. Pallavicino. Lingard. Sir James Mackintosh.

realms, as I am credibly informed. One of the Cardinals that is greatest with his Holiness, showed me that he, and others that be chief with his Holiness, do mind to move his Holiness to send his Nuncio to your Majesty thither, but that they stay till your Majesty doth send hither first to his Holiness." That the official news of the new reign was prevented from reaching the Continent at once will be seen from the Venetian Ambassador's letter from Brussels, where the King's plan to have "Miladi" Elizabeth for himself was, it seems, the talk of Philip's Court before it was known that Mary was dead:

MICHIEL SURIAN TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

BRUSSELS, *November* 27, 1558.

Concerning the affairs of England, the advices of the Queen's death, although received through several channels, were untrue, yet it is well known that she cannot live, and she has received the extreme unction, and all the Sacraments of Holy Church; and on the 13th of November, when she became so much worse, after the arrival of the Count de Feria, many personages of the kingdom flocked to the house of Miladi Elizabeth, the crowd constantly increasing with great frequency. On this account and owing to the Count's persuasions and those of her most intimate attendants, and from her own prudence, she was moved to send two gentlemen to that lady, to let her know that as it had pleased the Lord God to end her days, she was content that she (Elizabeth) as her sister should become Queen, and prayed her to maintain the kingdom and the Catholic religion, in words replete with much affection; to which she sent a most gracious reply by two of her attendants, who visited the Queen in her name, condoling with her on her malady.

In the meanwhile the English have purchased all the cloths of silk to be found at Antwerp, and they are preparing to appear with very great pomp at the

coronation of the new Queen; and as some days have passed without any advices from England, the last letters of the Count de Feria being dated the 19th (*sic*), it is believed that the English have placed guards at the passage ports, and do not allow any one to leave the kingdom.

The Bishop of Aquila departed yesterday, being sent by the King to visit the Queen, who, according to the last advices, was not yet dead, but cannot live long. As to what the Count de Feria is negotiating with regard to the marriage of Miladi Elizabeth, I am unable to write anything authentic, but the whole Court is full of the King's intention to have her for himself, as written by me lately.

The next letter, written by the Venetian Ambassador in France, describes the reception of the news in that country, where Elizabeth's rival, Mary Queen of Scots, had been married to the Dauphin seven months previously, and claimed the legitimate succession to the English crown:

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

Poissy, *November* 28, 1558.

When in hourly expectation of hearing of some decision about the affairs of Calais through the return of the agent who was expected from England, so as once for all to close this negotiation, and no longer to keep the whole of Christendom in suspense, His Majesty was advised, by an express from Cercamp, of the death of the Queen of England, which according to some persons took place so long ago as the 27th ult., since when it was concealed by allowing no one to leave the island; but according to others (perhaps more probably) she died on the 18th instant; Miladi Elizabeth having been published and proclaimed Queen on condition that everybody might live in their own fashion with regard to religion, and as to her marriage that she may not marry out of the kingdom, with such other particulars as your Serenity through

other channels will have heard long ago, together with the dangerous illness of the Right Reverend Cardinal Pole. On account of this demise it seems that King Philip's ministers, in order not completely to break off the negotiations for peace, proposed and requested a two months' truce, so that the commissioners on both sides might in the meanwhile withdraw to their princes, and see during this interval what may be determined about peace or war by this new Queen. The truce was immediately accepted by King Henry without any difficulty, he having forthwith sent his consent to the commissioners, and urged the Cardinal to return with all speed, leaving the Constable and Marshal St. André to go back to Flanders, so that in the intervening period they may (if they have the means) release themselves by paying their ransoms. . . .

The Cardinal of Lorraine is expected the day after to-morrow, his coming being the more desired in proportion to the great need of his counsel concerning the mode to be observed by the Queen-Dauphine, his niece, who by the death of the Queen of England claims the legitimate succession to her crown, as the true heir, and nearer than any other of that blood, she being the daughter of a son of Henry the Eighth's eldest daughter [sister], whereas the Queen lately proclaimed, although the daughter of the said King Henry, yet being considered illegitimate, is consequently deemed incapable of succeeding to the crown. Secretary Robertet was sent to the site of the conference not only to meet the Cardinal but to confer with the Constable and Marshal St. André, to have the opinion of all of them together about what he (Robertet) will have to do on crossing over to England, whither he seems to have been appointed to make for the present the due protests, in the name of the aforesaid Queen-Dauphine.

It is necessary now to turn to the critical position of affairs at the Peace Conference—the first grave question which had

Mary Stuart as Dauphine of France.

From a drawing attributed to Jean Clouet.

to be settled by the new Queen. Henry and Philip were ready to patch up their quarrel, both having their coffers empty and their hands full of other troubles with the growth of heresy in their own dominions; but the English, in the negotiations before Mary's death, had insisted on the restitution of Calais before they would sign any declaration of peace. Philip, to whom it was important that Calais should be given back to England—so long at least as England remained under his influence—had written to the English Commissioners on October 30 to the effect that he would agree to nothing on his side unless France satisfied England on this crucial point. France, however, remained obdurate, and matters were at this pass when the English Commissioners, ignorant of Queen Mary's death, sent home the following letter—printed here a little out of chronological order to preserve the sequence of the story—which expressed the opinion of all contemporary Englishmen regarding the loss and recovery of "such a jewel as Calais is":

THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS TO THE COUNCIL.

[Burnet's "*History of the Reformation.*" From *Record Office MSS.*]

ARRAS, *November* 18, 1558.

. . . We have not thought it meet to use any kind of words to the King, whereby His Majesty might by any means think that the Queen's Highness, and the realm of England, could be content to conclude a peace without the restitution of Calais. As well because our instructions import that, as also trusting that that would move His Majesty and his commissioners to be the more careful for the restitution of it. And seeing that His Majesty, and his commissioners, have ever said that they will conclude nothing without the Queen's Highness be first satisfied, it seemed to us that if her Highness and your lordships did stand earnestly in the repetition of Calais, that the French at this time must either forsake Calais, or else the peace. And in case this occasion to re-demand Calais be now forsaken, God knoweth

whenever England shall have the like again. And where your lordships write that the King's commissioners being so near to agree with the French upon the whole, much were to be endured for the wealth of Christendom, it is even so indeed as your lordships write. Marry, that all others should have restitution of their own, and poor England, that began not the fray, bear the burthen and the loss for the rest, and specially of such a jewel as Calais is, we fear will seem very hard and strange to all the realm. And yet, if the loss of Calais might purchase a sure peace to Christendom, that were yet some colour why somewhat the rather to agree to it. But if we may be so bold to say plainly our minds unto your lordships, we not only think not that the leaving Calais to the French shall purchase Christendom a sure peace, but rather are persuaded that nothing can more evidently show that the French intend no peace to continue, specially with England, than the retention of Calais, if they earnestly and finally persist thereon. Your lordships do right well understand what advantage the French have to annoy us by Scotland, which now is much ruled by France. And in case any peace be made, then shall the French have good time and leisure to establish and order their matters so in Scotland, especially considering that the marriage of the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots is now done; that Scotland shall be every whit as much at their commandment as any part of France is. And what the French pretend unto by that marriage is not unknown to your lordships.

If now Calais shall remain in their hands too, whereby neither England shall have the commodity to offend their enemies, nor to succour their friends, nor likewise to receive succour from their friends at their need, but by very uneasy means: yea, and whereby England shall in a manner be excluded from knowledge of all things done both by their enemies and by their friends; or at the least, the knowledge thereof shall not come, but so late that it will serve

to little purpose. And that Calais lieth so commodiously to be a scourge for England, as it was before our King Edward the Third took it: which caused him to adventure himself, and his son the Prince, to come but with a mean army from Normandy into France, and thence through all Picardy, to go to besiege Calais: he being continually pursued by his enemies with great armies, with the which he was enclosed and compassed about, and finally constrained more than once to fight it out, and specially at Crecy, where his enemy's army was thrice as great as his, and to lie so long at the siege before Calais, as he did. This scourge of England, so well known by experience then, and therefore so dearly bought by King Edward III., and now not yet known for lack of experience—if the French shall retain in their hands, they having likewise Scotland on the other side, how dangerous this shall be to England is easy to be considered. These, and other considerations, make us to be of opinion that, leaving Calais to the French, they will be content to deliver you a piece of parchment sealed with a little wax; but that they mean any continuance of peace we cannot be persuaded, no more than King Francis did by a number of pieces of parchment sealed, which he sent to King Henry the Eighth: nor the French King that now is, by the parchment sealed which he sent to King Edward the Sixth. And whereas now the King's Majesty's countries are in war with France as well as England: if the peace be once made, the French will soon seek occasion to fall out with England again: and then may it perhaps chance so that Spain will not think it necessary for them to venture in war again with France. Whereas now the King's Majesty cannot honourably, nor intendeth not (as he himself hath declared and said) to make any peace without us. So that the premises considered, we cannot for our parts think that Christendom shall be restored to a good peace, though we forsake Calais, but that then we shall be more oppressed with war than before.

And in case we must needs have war, as good it seemeth to continue in it yet for a while, being conjoined to the King's Majesty, who beareth the chief burthen and charges of it; than shortly after to begin a new, and to stand in danger to have all the burthen lie on our necks. And then should we know what a jewel we had forsaken, when we did agree to forgo Calais; and that by the retention of Calais, the French meant nothing less than the quietness of Christendom . . . . Your good lordships' most assuredly, ARUNDEL. THOMAS ELY. N. WOTTON.

Mary's death put a new complexion on the whole negotiations, and both Philip and Henry were glad to arrange the two months' truce mentioned in Michiel's last letter (p. 260), each anxious to see what the new Queen meant to do in the matter. Feria takes up the story in the following letter from London:

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO KING PHILIP.

[*Spanish State Papers.*]

LONDON, *November* 25, 1558.

The Queen decided three days ago to send Lord Cobham to your Majesty. He is the son of the Lord Cobham whom you knew and who recently died. They told me nothing about it until yesterday, when Secretary Cecil sent to say that Cobham was going and had been ordered to visit me before he left. This he did last evening, but the object of his going is only to inform your Majesty formally of what has occurred. He has no place in the Queen's household, and he and his brother have not enjoyed a good reputation, but have always been adherents of the new Queen and she is attached to him. Your Majesty should have him well housed and treated, and a handsome chain or something should be given to him. I have written to my brother-in-law asking him to entertain him and to win his good graces. . . .The day before yesterday the Queen came to a house of my Lord North, formerly a Carthusian monastery, close

to the horse market, and the whole of London turned out and received her with great acclamations. They tell me her attitude was more gracious to the common people than to others. She will not go to the Tower till next week. I sent the Admiral's wife to visit her and she returned me a very gracious reply. I think of seeing her to-morrow, or the day after, and shall be glad to receive your Majesty's letter with the credit, for without that it is hopeless to try to cajole these people. I beg your Majesty to send me Don Juan de Ayala or the Bishop of Aquila, as I am a bad hand at negotiating without a tender. There is great rejoicing amongst the common people and young folks, and those who were persecuted for heresy or treason, but others are not so pleased, as I hear. . . .

I think it will be well for your Majesty to have all the treaties between the late Emperor and King Henry and of your own marriage well looked into to see whether any of them are binding on heirs and successors in England, especially that of 1542. M. D'Arras[1] and the Flemings think that heirs and successors are included in that treaty. Paget told your Majesty two years ago that they were not, but I in conversation with the Councillors separately, and once when they were together, told them they were obliged by the old treaties to declare war when they did, without going into particulars, and I pointed it out again recently, but I have always avoided stirring the matter up before Paget. It would be very convenient if these people were bound by treaty. I have copies of all the treaties here, but as they are in French I do not understand them well. . . .

I am very much afraid that if the Queen do not send her obedience to the Pope or delay doing so, or if he should take into his head to recall matters concerning the divorce of King Henry, there may be a defect in the succession of this Queen which will help to upset the present state of things here more than anything else. Your Majesty will consider whether

[1] Anthony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, Cardinal de Granvelle.

it will be well to write to Rome and in some good way get the Pope sounded about it to see whether he will act. I think your Majesty ought to do it.

The French point of view regarding the changed situation, and the claims of Mary Stuart to Elizabeth's throne, are clearly disclosed in Michiel's next letter :

GIOVANNI MICHIEL TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

Poissy, *December* 4, 1558.

The day before yesterday, after congratulating the King on his return from the camp, and on his good health, he commenced talking with me confidentially as is his wont ; and about the death of the Queen of England he told me that his Commissioners at the Conference heard of it before those of the King Catholic, who, when it was announced to them by the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine, either dissembled purposely (as is credible), or if really ignorant of the fact, they at any rate pretended to be so, admitting however that they had heard of her dangerous illness. Shortly after this they therefore determined to request the prorogation of the truce for two months. To this His most Christian Majesty said he had lately assented, and sent the Commission hence forthwith, so he thought that while talking to me thus it was already stipulated, and that the Commissioners had taken leave of each other. . . .

His Majesty then, continuing his discourse about the Queen's death, said that shortly before it took place he understood she had been visited in the name of the three estates of the kingdom, viz., the clergy, the lords, and the commons, who, after commending and thanking her for what she had done for their benefit, and principally by restoring the religion, inquired of Her Majesty whether, in case the Lord God should dispose of her otherwise, she was content that the will

of her father respecting the succession of the kingdom should be executed; to which she having answered affirmatively, they then asked further whether it pleased her that for very good reason an attestation of this should be taken, and a record made; to which also she said "yes"; so after her decease, with the universal consent and applause of the entire population, Miladi Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen, she, some days before her predecessor's death, having already come to London;[1] and after the proclamation, she as usual took possession of the Tower, whence being conducted to Westminster Palace, she had it proclaimed that in the matter of religion she left it to everyone to live in their own fashion, but giving it immediately to be understood that with regard to herself she should by no means renounce that use in which she had been born, instructed, and educated, until she knew that there was some better one.

His most Christian Majesty then commenced speaking about Cardinal Pole, who, he had heard, was very dangerously ill,[2] from mental anxiety rather than from physical indisposition, and even should he recover, the King said he did not think he could continue to reside in England by reason of the slight goodwill borne him by the Queen, who attributed principally to him the recent burning of one of her chief and well-beloved servants. After this topic His Majesty discoursed about who might now be the members of her Council and the rulers of England, saying that he believed Lord Grey, late Governor of Guisnes, now a prisoner here, would be her favourite, owing to their absolute uniformity in religious opinion, as the moment he heard the news he evinced very great joy for the death of the other one; and the King said besides that he had sent for him to the

[1] This is a mistake, for Elizabeth, as stated on p. 253, did not leave Hatfield for London until six days after Mary's death.

[2] Another striking proof of how slowly news travelled in those days, Pole's death having occurred, as already stated, only a few hours after that of Mary.

Court, the general opinion being that His Majesty means to make use of him by sending his Lordship over there.

His Majesty in the next place began to discuss her marriage, saying that as yet she had promised not to take a foreign husband, though on this promise no reliance could be placed, as the other one also did the like. Then talking with me about the native Englishmen adapted for that purpose, he said that very few, or in fact none, were found of condition to have such a dignity conferred on them; and from this the King proceeded to consider the reasons for and against her inclining to King Philip, nor could he in conclusion conceal his great regret were such a marriage to take place, fearing lest such a compact should prevent the conclusion of the peace unless Calais be restored.

With regard to this topic of peace, when I told the King how intently and anxiously your Serenity awaited it, I having constantly written to you that it was supposed to be concluded, as I still opined more than ever, not believing that this fresh incident in England, though it might delay the peace, would however break off or in fact annul it; His Majesty replied that on his side it would really be so; so unless the other side fail I am assured on good authority that the most Christian King will not only not change one whit of what was agreed to here, but should the terms stipulated be unsatisfactory he will even give something more.

Concerning these affairs of England His Majesty also gave me minute account of the claim of his daughter-in-law, the Queen-Dauphine, saying that were right of any avail that kingdom ought doubtless to be hers; but as he spoke to me very coldly on the subject, my belief in what had been told me previously by a person who has the means of knowing is confirmed, viz., that for the present not only will no act be attempted on account of the said claim, there being no other mode of enforcing it than by words and writings, but that on the contrary to avoid

raising greater difficulties and impediments to the peace, the King will dissemble as much as he can, at least until he has the means of making some effective demonstration. There is already no longer any talk of Secretary Robertet's mission to England, and indeed I am told that His Majesty will rather send thither privily either by Lord Grey or by others, to let that Queen know that should she keep quiet about the affairs of Calais His Majesty likewise will be quiet about his daughter-in-law's interest in the succession; and that, provided she persist in her determination not to marry out of the kingdom, not only will he never molest or disturb her, but on the contrary will preserve and maintain her in security as mistress of her possession; and that he will also cause the Queen-Dauphine to make a cession of her pretension to her in perpetuity. All these particulars being of such importance as they are it would be well for your Serenity to have them consigned to the secrecy they deserve. . . .

Six days later the Venetian Ambassador with Philip describes the arrival at Brussels of Lord Cobham, bearing Elizabeth's messages of good will to the King. The purport of these messages, according to Surian's account, bears a strong family likeness to that of the letter from Elizabeth which is translated from Leti on pp. 254–6.

MICHIEL SURIAN TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

BRUSSELS, *December* 10, 1558.

The King is now in retirement with a few of his household at the Abbacy, where he will remain until the performance of the Emperor's obsequies, which are delayed until after Christmas; but next week the obsequies of Queen Mary of England will take place, as also those of the other Queen, Maria of Hungary,[1] which two ceremonies will not be attended by His

[1] Philip's aunt.

Majesty. All the affairs of the Court are suspended until the close of this ceremony.

Lord Cobham has arrived, having been sent by the new Queen of England, and yesterday he had a long audience of His Majesty, but merely performed general offices of condolence on the death of Queen Mary, offering him the goodwill of the present Queen and of the whole kingdom, promising observance of the old and new treaties of England with His Majesty, and offering to confirm them at his pleasure. By "the treaties" are understood those made heretofore with King Henry, which bind the United Provinces and England to reciprocal defence with a certain number of troops; which treaties were also subsequently confirmed in the time of Queen Mary. Concerning this matter Lord Cobham said that Queen Elizabeth does not in any way intend to depart from the counsel and opinion of His Majesty, hoping that from the goodwill always evinced by him he will not renounce the protection of that kingdom.

He is not known to have said a single word about the war with France, either as to continuing or relinquishing it; but from what was said by the Bishop of Ely, who returned lately from the conference where the peace was treated, England is determined not to make it without the restitution of Calais, and he added that should King Philip not choose to wage war the English will continue it alone until they recover their own; which resolve seems to have been formed in Parliament, which was assembled during the lifetime of the late Queen. The said Bishop and his colleague, Dr. Wotton, have had a fresh order to remain here, that they may attend the new conference which is to take place at the end of next month, and for this cause Queen Elizabeth sent no ambassador to France, but only to the Emperor and to King Philip, a very evident sign that England will remain united with His Majesty and disunited from the French, much to the advantage of these States, which would be lost immediately were England their enemy.

It continues to be said that the French are urging the Pope to declare that Queen a bastard and a heretic, and therefore ineligible to the Crown; and although such be the public report, and it is also confirmed by letters from Italy, I do not hear that it originates from any but the Spaniards, owing to their nature or their will; yet if the French attempt this they will only render that Queen their most inveterate enemy, and make her determined utterly in favour of this side.

Nothing certain is known about Her Majesty's marriage, but so far as can be elicited from these English lords she does not seem to have any inclination to marry abroad, and within the realm there is no other subject except one sole young man, 22 years old, and the Queen's kinsman, the Duke of Norfolk, if I am not mistaken; and he is the same personage who last year sent to Rome to have a dispensation to marry one of his kinswomen in the third degree, and did not obtain it, which will have been his good fortune should this befall him. . . .

As yet no unfavourable stir is seen about the affairs of the religion. It is true that in the proclamation issued by the Queen "that no one was to dare (of his own authority) to molest sacred places nor religious persons, nor to alter the present state of the religion," the phrase "of his own authority" is construed to imply that the Queen, at her own time, will herself give the authority; but not to be in fear is impossible, not so much on this account, as because the persons about her are all suspected, and the slightest alteration will alter everything and be the final ruin of that kingdom.

Feria also continued to take a gloomy view of the prospects of religion, and—what was to him of even greater importance—of Spanish influence under the new rule. Times had changed indeed since Philip could send peremptory messages to Mary to press forward his matrimonial plans for Elizabeth and the Duke of Savoy. His representative now hesitates

to offer Elizabeth the hand of the King himself. At one time the Archduke Ferdinand, failing the Prince of Savoy, had seemed a suitable match for the English Princess, but the Reformation was making such strides in the Austrian States that Philip, who had now placed himself at the head of the Catholic party in Europe, no longer favoured an Austrian match. So he sent over to Feria the crafty old Spaniard, Alvarez de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, with a special commission, as Froude puts it, "to watch over the interests of the Church of Rome, to keep the Catholics true to Philip and themselves, to prevent them from rebelling prematurely, and to hold them in hand ready to rise at the fitting moment, should other means fail to bring Elizabeth to reason." With him on the same boat came the love-sick —and sea-sick—Earl of Arundel, whose heart had been won at sight of Elizabeth's distress as a prisoner in the Tower four years before. The Earl of Arundel at one time had thought of a marriage between Elizabeth and his son, Lord Maltravers, and when his son died in the summer of 1556 had himself become a suitor for her hand. Elizabeth probably smiled to herself at the strange crop of lovers which now sprang up all round her; and she had a word of encouragement for most of them, for their rivalry not only flattered her vanity, but formed an essential part of the subtle policy on which she was now embarked:

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO KING PHILIP.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

LONDON, *December* 14, 1558.

The Bishop of Aquila arrived here on the 7th, and the day before he sent me on the letters from Dover, so that I should not have to await news of my brother's health. He suffered greatly at sea, but I believe the tears of the Earl of Arundel floated them into port, for he says the Earl cried like a child. I saw the Earl at the palace very smart and clean, and they say he carries his thoughts very high.[1] A courier

[1] The Earl of Arundel alone of the Peace Commissioners appears to have returned to England at the signing of the two months' truce, Dr. Wotton and the Bishop of Ely accompanying the Spanish Commissioners to Brussels.

called Mendez whom I sent from here on the 25th November deserves punishment. He ought to have crossed with Lord Cobham, but went to sleep at Dover, and Cobham crossed without him. The other man who was sent on the 26th was more careful and crossed with Cobham. The day on which the Queen died I wished to send by land and sea, but could not as the Earl of Arundel's servant who crossed over bore the orders to close the ports and to give him ships to bring his master over. I wrote nevertheless by Don Alonso de Cordova, but he was a half an hour too late, and although he offered them large sums to let him go they refused. I wrote the letter with great fear that they would take it from him, but I am glad your Majesty received mine of 21st, 25th and 27th, which answer some of your questions.

The Bishop of Aquila seems to understand thoroughly the business of the Emperor and his sons, and your Majesty has certainly done me a great favour in sending him to me, as he is a very discreet and virtuous man and may help me much. As I understand from him, the Archduke Ferdinand is not a man very fit for this business, but if your Majesty does not wish for him I do not see whom we are to put forward.

It gives me great trouble every time I write to your Majesty not to be able to send more pleasing intelligence, but what can be expected from a country governed by a Queen, and she a young lass, who, although sharp, is without prudence, and is every day standing up against religion more openly? The kingdom is entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics and traitors, and the Queen does not favour a single man whom Her Majesty, who is now in heaven, would have received, and will take no one into her service who served her sister when she was Lady Mary. On her way from the Tower to her house where she now is, she saw the Marquess of Northampton, who is ill with a quartan ague,

at a window, and she stopped her palfrey and was for a long while asking him about his health in the most cordial way in the world. The only true reason for this was that he had been a great traitor to her sister, and he who was most prominent in this way is now best thought of. The old people and the Catholics are dissatisfied, but dare not open their lips. She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sister and gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did. Her present Controller and Secretary Cecil govern the kingdom, and they tell me the Earl of Bedford has a good deal to say. When I spoke to her at Lord North's house, she told me that when anything had to be discussed with me she would send two of her Council to me. I asked her which two they would be, so that I might know with whom to communicate in case I had anything to say. She said they would be the Controller, Cecil and Admiral Clinton, and directly afterwards she appointed the first two, so I knew she only mentioned Clinton because she thought I was friendly with him and I satisfied myself of this subsequently. She afterwards said that when I wanted anything I was to speak to her personally, and I made an appearance of being very highly gratified with this. I know this is a very feeble foundation to begin with, but I was glad nevertheless. I am trying to get a chamber in the palace when she goes to Whitehall, although I am very much afraid they will not give me one, but I have little chance of getting to talk to these people from the outside and they are so suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares to speak of me; as the late Chancellor has told me plainly. He is a worthy person and she knows it, but he is not in the gang and will not return to office. He tells me that if they offered it to him he would not accept it. I think Paget is dying as fast as he can. He was very bad before and the Queen seems not to have favoured him as he expected; indeed I do not think she will return

him his office, and this no doubt has increased his malady.

They are all very glad to be free of your Majesty as if you had done harm instead of very much good, and, although in all my letters to your Majesty I have said how small a party you have here, I am never satisfied that I have said enough to describe things as they really are. As I am so isolated from them I am much embarrassed and confused to devise means of finding out what is going on, for truly they run away from me as if I were the devil. The best thing will be to get my foot into the palace, so as to speak oftener to the Queen, as she is a woman who is very fond of argument. Everybody thinks that she will not marry a foreigner and they cannot make out whom she favours, so that nearly every day some new cry is raised about a husband. They have dropped the Earls of Arundel and Westmorland, and say now she will marry William Howard's son or Pickering,[1] who went to bring over the Germans that Wallerthum raised. The most discreet people fear she will marry for caprice, and as the good or evil of the business all turns on this, I do nothing but think how and when I can get a word in about it. . . .

At present I see no disposition to enter into the discussion of any proposal on your Majesty's behalf, either on her part or on that of the Council, and when it has to be approached, it should be mentioned first to her alone, as she told me when I had anything to say I could say it to her personally. Even if this were not so, it is not a matter that can be spoken of to the Council until more light is obtained as to her own inclinations. What can be done with the Councillors individually, but not as a body, is to dissuade them from her marriage with an Englishman, and I am moving in this way as cleverly as I can, although

[1] Sir William Pickering, courtier and diplomatist, who had been involved in Wyatt's conspiracy. He died in 1575.

very cautiously and slowly, seeing how little I can mix with these people. They will look with more favour on the Archduke Ferdinand than on your Majesty, when they have made up their mind to accept a foreigner, because they think he will always reside in the country and will have no quarrel with France, and although some of them understand that the power and grandeur of your Majesty is of great importance to their security, the short time your Majesty could reside here and your enmity to France turn them against you. As to the Duke of Savoy I have written to your Majesty to say that they will not agree to him, for in fact they have a great hatred of war, and they are afraid he may try to recover his states at the expense of this country. I do not know which way the Queen is inclined, for on the one hand she complained to me of her sister's having married a foreigner, and on the other I see she is very vain and as much set against her sister as she was previous to her death. I fancy I can get at her through this feeling.

We must begin by getting her into talk about your Majesty, and run down the idea of her marrying an Englishman, and thus to hold herself less than her sister, who would never marry a subject. We must tell her that one of the reasons the Queen, now in heaven, disliked her was her fear that if she died your Majesty would marry her (Elizabeth); and then place before her how badly it would look for her to marry one of these men while there are such great princes whom she might marry. After that we can take those whom she might marry here and pick them to pieces one by one, which will not require much rhetoric, for there is not a man amongst them worth anything, counting the married ones and all. We can then remind her of the claims of the Queen Dauphine (Mary Queen of Scots) and the need for her (Elizabeth's) being allied with your Majesty or with someone belonging to you and so on, to the other reasons we can allege against her marriage

here. When she is dissuaded, if she inclines to your Majesty it will be necessary for you to send me orders whether I am to carry it any further or throw cold water on it and set up the Archduke Ferdinand, because I do not see what other person we can propose to whom she would agree. When your Majesty married the late Queen the French felt it very keenly, as they will if you marry this one, and particularly as she is more likely to have children on account of her age and temperament, in both of which respects she is much better than the Queen now in heaven, although in every other she compares most unfavourably with her. No one understands better than your Majesty the affairs of this country, and indeed all others, and I do not see therefore how anybody can advise your Majesty in this better than you can advise yourself. In case we have to put forward the Archduke the manner in which your Majesty treats with the Emperor and his sons is to be considered, so as to convince them of your friendship, and make good terms with them both in the matter of the Italian suzerainty and any others there may be unknown to me, as I have been so short a time in these affairs. They may also broach the subject of a marriage between his (the Emperor's) daughter and your Majesty, and it is well to consider in time what answer should be given in such case.

I do not for the present see any way of beginning what I have mentioned except in the course of conversation with the Queen, as she is in the habit of talking to me, to introduce the subject and proceed with it as I see opportune and as your Majesty may order. I have seen her twice since she has been Queen, once in Lord North's house and once in that which belonged to the Duke of Somerset where she is now. When I saw her at North's she began taking off her glove as soon as she saw me, so that I might kiss her hand, as I did. I did not speak of business, confining myself to compliments, but told her, as my

only reason for being here was to serve her and advise your Majesty how to gratify her in everything, I proposed also to convey to her the knowledge of things in which your Majesty could be gratified, and so to help forward the good fellowship which I thought both parties wished to preserve. In pursuance of this I said your Majesty had ordered me to beg her to be very careful about religious affairs, as they were what first and principally concerned you. She answered that it would indeed be bad for her to forget God who had been so good to her, which appeared to me rather an equivocal reply.

When I left on that day I sent her by the Admiral's wife the two rings that your Majesty gave me which belonged to the late Queen, because as I saw she was so fond of her jewels I thought best to give her up even the poorest of them. I saw her again three days after the Bishop of Aquila arrived and gave her an account of the position of the peace negotiations. When I told her about the suspension of hostilities she thought it was some trap against her, and that your Majesty was leaving her out. I could not manage to remove this suspicion. When she had gone in I called Cecil, the Controller, and the Earls of Pembroke and Bedford, and communicated the affair to them, and asked the Secretary, who is the man who does everything, to go in at once and explain it to her, which he did. I told her about the jewels which were in the box at Whitehall and said I would give her the key when I came. She accepted. I have heard also that the Queen, now in heaven, ordered in her will that the jewels given to her by your Majesty and the Emperor should be returned to you, and these people had concealed this and kept the jewels. Seeing this I thought best to say that your Majesty would be very pleased for her to have them if she wanted them. She asked me whether I was instructed to say so, and I told her the only instructions I had were that your Majesty would be glad for her to take anything she wanted of what belonged to you, as a good

brother should. She is very fond of having things given to her, and her one theme is how poor she is. The ring brought by the Bishop of Aquila I sent her by the Controller, as I did not think fitting to give it to her before so many people. Both times I have spoken with her have been in the presence chamber crammed with people, and what with this and all these gifts I think I never saw her so carried away as she was to-day. She was full of fine words for me, however, and told me that when people said she was French I was not to believe it. I said I had never heard such a thing, nor did I believe anyone in the world was so foolish as to think so. . . .

Next comes the letter of Dr. Edwin Sandys, to which reference has been made in connexion with the more plausible account of how Elizabeth received the announcement of Mary's recognition of her right to the succession. Few people breathed a deeper sigh of relief when they heard of Mary's death than the English exiles—upwards of a thousand in number, according to Burnet—who had escaped the religious persecutions and found safety among the Protestant churches on the Continent. They had good ground for the belief that the new Queen, although she had acquiesced in the religion which had been forced upon her by her sister, was ready to pose as the champion of the Reformation in England. And that meant home to the Protestant exiles—to say nothing of probable preferment to many of them, whose number included five bishops, five deans, four archdeacons, and fifty-seven preachers and doctors in divinity. Dr. Sandys himself had been Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. He espoused the cause of Lady Jane Grey when she was proclaimed Queen in 1553, and for this had suffered imprisonment, escaping to the Continent on his release. Returning in 1559, he became successively Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry Bullinger, his correspondent in the following letter—like many others preserved in the "Zurich Letters" published by the Parker Society—was the Swiss

Protestant Reformer who sheltered many of the distinguished exiles when they sought safety in Zurich during Mary's reign. Bullinger had succeeded Zuingle as Pastor at Zurich in 1531:

EDWIN SANDYS TO HENRY BULLINGER.

["*Zurich Letters.*"]

STRASBURG, *December* 20, 1558.

Much health in Christ. I am rather dilatory in writing to you, most esteemed sir; but it is only just now that I have anything certain to communicate.

We yesterday received a letter from England, in which the death of Mary, the accession of Elizabeth, and the decease of Cardinal Pole is confirmed. That good Cardinal, that he might not raise any disturbance, or impede the progress of the Gospel, departed this life the day after his friend Mary.[1] Such was the love and harmony between them, that not even death itself could separate them. We have nothing therefore to fear from Pole, for dead men do not bite.

Mary, not long before her death, sent two members of her Council to her sister Elizabeth, and commanded them to let her know in the first place, that it was her intention to bequeath to her the royal crown, together with all the dignity that she was then in possession of by right of inheritance. In return however for this great favour conferred upon her, she required of her these three things: first, that she would not change her Privy Council; secondly, that she would make no alteration in religion; and thirdly, that she would discharge her debts, and satisfy her creditors. Elizabeth replied in these terms: "I am very sorry to hear of the Queen's illness; but there is no reason why I should thank her for her intention to give me the

[1] Accounts vary as to whether Cardinal Pole died on the 17th or 18th, but a letter in the Venetian Calendar, in describing Mary's death on the morning of the 17th, states distinctly that "my right reverend Lord followed her at 7 o'clock in the evening of the same day."

crown of this kingdom. For she has neither the power of bestowing it upon me, nor can I lawfully be deprived of it, since it is my peculiar and hereditary right. With respect to the Council, I think myself," she said, "as much at liberty to choose my counsellors, as she was to choose her own. As to religion, I promise thus much, that I will not change it, provided only it can be proved by the word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion. And when, lastly, she requires the payment of her debts, she seems to me to require nothing more than what is just, and I will take care that they shall be paid, as far as may lie in my power." The messengers were dismissed with this answer.

Queen Elizabeth, on the Sunday after her accession, caused the Gospel to be preached at the celebrated Paul's Cross, which took place to the great delight of the people.[1] But on the following Sunday the Bishop of Chichester, by name Christopherson, (the same who some time ago called at your house on his way to Italy,) and a notorious papist,[2] occupied the same place, and in his sermon, with great vehemence and freedom, (for the papists are always bold enough,) refuted everything that had been said on the Sunday preceding; loudly exclaiming, "Believe not this new doctrine; it is not the Gospel, but a new invention of new men and heretics, &c." In this way the good papist strove to confirm his own opinions, and to take away the truth of the Gospel. As soon as this came to the ears of the Queen, she caused this good bishop to be summoned into her presence; and after he had been examined respecting his sermon, commanded him to be sent to prison.

[1] The preacher was Dr. Bill, her chaplain and almoner. He was afterwards Dean of Westminster and Provost of Eton.

[2] Christopherson was an examiner of heretics in Mary's reign, and sat on the commission for the burning of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, where he was Master of Trinity College. He died within a month after this sermon was preached, and was buried on December 28, with all the ceremonies prescribed by his church.

The Queen has changed almost all her counsellors, and has taken good Christians into her service in the room of papists, and there is great hope of her promoting the Gospel, and advancing the kingdom of Christ to the utmost of her power. That she may do this, God must be entreated by all religious persons. Philip has sent over to her a splendid and magnificent embassy; but we know not what he means by it. If, however, he is thinking about what your prudent fears anticipated, he will lose his labour, and get nothing by it.

[Sir Thomas] Wroth, [Sir Anthony] Cooke, and other persons of distinction, have begun their journey this day; I, with God's blessing, shall follow them to-morrow. As soon as I arrive in England, I will take care to let you know the state of affairs there. In the meantime, entreat God in behalf of the Church of England, and of us, miserable ministers of the Word, upon whom a heavy and difficult burden is imposed. We in our turn will earnestly pray to God in behalf both of your Church and yourselves. It is now midnight, and I am to quit this place early to-morrow morning; wherefore, most esteemed sir, I bid you farewell. Your most devoted, EDWIN SANDYS, *Anglus*.

"The Romish religion," says Camden, "stood a full month and more after the death of Queen Mary in the same state as it was before." It suited Elizabeth's plans to keep both Protestants and Catholics in suspense until the election of her first Parliament, "for only from that assembly," adds Camden, "could the affections of the people be certainly gained." One of the early signs of approaching change was noticed at the celebration of the morning service on Christmas Day, as described in a letter from Sir William Fitzwilliam—afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland, and governor of Fotheringhay Castle when Mary Queen of Scots was executed:

SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM TO MR. MORE, HIGH SHERIFF OF SURREY.

[Wright's "*Elizabeth and Her Times.*" From the *Loseley MSS.*]

December 26, 1558.

. . . This night I came home late from London: and for news you shall understand that yesterday, being Christmas Day, the Queen's Majesty repaired to her great Closet with her nobles and ladies as hath been accustomed in such high feasts: and she perceiving a Bishop preparing himself to Mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the Gospel was done: and when all the people looked for her to have offered according to the old fashion, she with her nobles, returned again from the Closet and the Mass into her private chamber, which was strange unto divers, etc. Blessed be God in all His gifts, etc. . . . I pray you commend me and my wife, first unto yourself and then to your good wife, etc. This Saint Stephen's night, by yours as his own, WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM.

Feria amplifies Fitzwilliam's account in the letter which he sent to the King three days later—a letter which is full of readable matter relating to the new situation in Church and State. The Bishop of Carlisle, who braved the Queen's anger at this Christmas morning service, was Owen Oglethorpe. It was Oglethorpe who was compelled to perform the coronation ceremony in the following January, the see of Canterbury being vacant, and Heath, the Archbishop of York, refusing to officiate. Oglethorpe never forgave himself for what he regarded as his unfaithfulness to his Church on this occasion, and it is said that his grief hastened his end. He refused the Oath of Supremacy in May, and died of apoplexy at the close of the year:

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO KING PHILIP.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

December 29, 1558.

. . . On the Sunday of Christmas-tide the Queen before going to Mass sent for the Bishop of Carlisle,

who was to officiate, and told him that he need not elevate the Host for adoration. The Bishop answered that Her Majesty was mistress of his body and life, but not of his conscience, and accordingly she heard the Mass until after the Gospel, when she rose and left, so as not to be present at the canon and adoration of the Host which the Bishop elevated as usual. They tell me that yesterday she heard Mass said by another bishop, who was requested not to elevate the Host and acted accordingly, and she heard it to the end. I should like in these affairs to animate and encourage the Catholics so that she may find difficulties in the way of doing the wicked things she is beginning, but I am doing it with the utmost caution in order that she may not be offended or quarrel with me more than need be. This affair is going at a pace that, in spite of the good offices your Majesty may perform with the Pope, it will be impossible to stop, and I hear that he (the Pope) will declare this Queen a bastard and will proceed against her, giving the right to the Crown to the Queen of Scots. It is said here that the King of France settled this with the Pope some time since, but in any case the other woman already has many adherents in the kingdom and every day will have more.

They are so full of prophecies in this country that nothing happens but they immediately come out with some prophecy that foretold it so many years ago, and it is a fact that serious people and good Catholics even take notice of these things, and attach more importance to them than they usually merit. These prophecies are now saying that she will reign a very short time, and that your Majesty will again reign over the country, but the true prophecy is that this nation is very fond of novelty, and she is beginning to govern in a way which gives reasonable hopes of a change every hour. The people are already beginning to gossip about her being flighty, and since she has been dipping her hand into the subsidies they have become more displeased. There were so many men too who

thought they would be put into the highest places, and so few places in which to put them, that many of these men are dissatisfied, as well as others whom she is turning out of the offices they held, without regarding patents or anything else.

The Bishop of Winchester preached a very Catholic sermon in memory of the late Queen, and the Council sent for him and ordered him not to leave his house. The sermon, in memory of our Lord the Emperor, was preached on Christmas eve by an almoner of the new Queen, who was formerly her chaplain.[1] He is a heretic, but he said nothing to mark him as such except that he did not mention the Pope, and said the Lord's Prayer in English, which is the custom of heretics. The Queen has ordered certain portions of the Mass to be said in English, such as the Paternoster, and I think the Creed.

A litany has been printed which used to be sung in the time of King Edward, in which no saints at all are mentioned, and she (the Queen) hears Mass in this way, although they tell me that the chaplains who perform it are some of them married, and the others doubtful.

The Earl of Arundel has been going about in high glee for some time and is very smart. He has given jewels worth 2,000 crowns to the women who surround the Queen, and his son-in-law Lord Lumley has been very confidential with her. I was rather disturbed at this for a time, as an Italian merchant, from whom he has borrowed large sums of money, told others here that he heard that he was to marry the Queen, but I did not lose hope, as the Earl is a flighty man, of small ability. The affair has ended in his being again made Lord Steward, whilst they have returned to the Marquess of Winchester the office of Treasurer which the Earl wanted. I think this old man is a good servant of your Majesty and the others respect him. He looks younger and better than I

[1] William Bill, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and, in 1560, Dean of Westminster. He died in 1561.

have ever seen him. The other Treasurer of the Household, who was Lord of the Cinque Ports,[1] has died, and his offices have not yet been filled up. They have not either appointed a Chancellor, but they have given the seals to guard to Mr. Bacon, who is married to a sister of the wife of Secretary Cecil, a tiresome bluestocking,[2] who belonged to the Bedchamber of the late Queen who is in heaven. He is a man who is not worth much. Englefield's office has been given to the present controller.[3]

There is a great deal of talk lately about the Queen marrying Duke Adolphus, brother of the King of Denmark. One of the principal recommendations they find in him is that he is a heretic, but I am persuading them that he is a very good Catholic and not so comely a gentleman as they make him out to be, as I do not think he would suit us.

I have only seen the Queen on the two occasions of which I have written to your Majesty. I have had a great controversy about their giving me rooms in the palace. I had tried to arrange it in a friendly way with the Earl of Pembroke and the Chamberlain without bringing it before the Council, but these people are so cursedly contrary that they must all need meet, as I am told, to discuss the question, and the Queen sent me an answer by the Chamberlain to the effect that she was astonished at my asking such a thing, which had never been granted to the minister of any prince, followed by words of compliment, and explaining that it was done for me during the late Queen's life because she was the wife of your Majesty, whilst she (Elizabeth) was still unmarried. This answer was given by the Chamberlain to the man who went to ask him for it, but I did not want to be beaten, and seeing it could not be done through the Chamberlain I bethought me to try the Secretary. The Bishop went to talk to him and told him how

[1] Sir Thomas Chenies.
[2] One of the four learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke (see p. 72).
[3] Sir Thomas Parry.

LORD BURGHLEY.

From his portrait in the National Gallery.

sorry I was that the Chamberlain had treated the matter more as a courtier than as a man of business, and that since the Queen thought my request unreasonable I was desirous that the matter should be explained to her by him (Cecil), so that she should not think I had acted without due consideration. My view was that for the sake of convenience in negotiating with Her Majesty and the members of her Council, who were so numerous, it would be just to give me rooms in the palace like one of themselves, as I was here for the purpose of serving her in all things, and because of its not having been done to any other minister it did not at all follow that rooms should not be given to me, as I was the servant of Her Majesty's brother, and such close friendship existed between them, and moreover that it would be well for our common enemies to see how your Majesty's affairs were conducted here. The Secretary replied that it was true he had heard the matter discussed, and it really did appear extraordinary to him as the Queen would not introduce any innovations in the royal household. On further discussion he went on to say that as the Queen was unmarried I might be one of her suitors. The Bishop was much surprised at this and refuted it, and Cecil at last said he would speak to the Queen and give an answer next day. Two days afterwards the Bishop went to speak with them about the affair of St. Augustine's Church, and he was told that the Queen was much pleased with my message to her, but that for my convenience in negotiating she would give me audience as often as I wished, either alone or with some of her Council as I desired, and so the matter remains.

On Innocents Day she sent Peter Carew to visit me, who told me that the Queen thought I was ill as I had not been to see her, and that she thanked me for what the Bishop on my behalf had said to the Council about the St. Augustine's affair, which had displeased her very much, and to prevent a recurrence of which she had issued a new proclamation prohibiting

preaching. He offered to bring me a copy if I wanted to see it. I answered him very cordially, saying I was much obliged to Her Majesty for sending him to visit me, and that I had not been to see her as I had heard that she was very busy and I was not sure my visit would be acceptable. I was always desirous of doing precisely what would please her. I said I thought best to send and speak to the Council about the St. Augustine's affair, as it seemed to me a very scandalous business. I had nothing to say about the new proclamation, as Her Majesty would order it to be printed, and I had no desire to see it, but it certainly did seem strange to me that only a month ago she should order a proclamation to be printed providing that no change should be made in religious affairs and now to issue another in a contrary sense. I did not know what would be thought of it. I was reserved in manner and expressed great surprise.

He said that in France the King had given a church to those of the new persuasion. I told him it was untrue. He then said it was at Metz, which I denied, but even if he had allowed one at Metz I should not have been surprised, as the town belonged to the Empire and the King of France only kept a garrison there for the better defence of his kingdom. I did not care to push this matter any further until I get your Majesty's instructions. I conversed with the man for some time and he said he wished to God that your Majesty had married the new Queen and had children. He had also a great deal to say about the obligation under which the English are to your Majesty. I did not answer a word about the marriage, but on the other subject I enlarged and pointed out the good offices of your Majesty to the Queen and country. We afterwards talked about the peace, and I feel sure that the last suspension of hostilities arranged at Cercamp was very favourable for your Majesty's interests, because these people have at last made up their minds that your Majesty will not leave them in the lurch and is their true friend. They will

come to terms even though Calais is not given up to them.

I think even that your Majesty's commissioners should side strongly with the English and urge them to press this point, so that perhaps it may be agreed to leave Calais in ruins or at least dismantled.

I am looking into the treaties with the Bishop, some of them being in Latin.

Peter Carew also told me that when peace was made it would be well to confirm the treaties. I told him we would see about it. There would be time for that. I told him the news about the money coming from the Indies, without diminishing the amount at all, so that he might tell the Queen, as I thought she would [be] glad to hear that your Majesty was so prosperous and well off. They tell me this news has made a great noise in France, as indeed it has here.

The fact is that these people are going on in a way that will end in their coming to grief, and your Majesty must get the affair in your grasp. We must begin at once to see that the King of France does not get in or spoil the crop that your Majesty has sown.

But it was never in Philip's nature to "begin at once." He was now too anxious to get the Peace settled, and return to his beloved Spain, to respond to the fiery Feria's repeated warnings that unless he soon interfered, by force of arms if necessary, England, and all that England meant to him, would slip through his fingers. At last, on January 10, Philip made up his mind again to sacrifice himself on the altar of matrimony for Spain and religion's sake, little suspecting that he was the least likely of all her suitors to win Elizabeth's hand. His gracious condescension in his letter to Feria on the subject is an amazing instance of his inability to realise the changed conditions at the English Court:

KING PHILIP TO THE COUNT DE FERIA.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

BRUSSELS, *January* 10, 1559.

You will have noted what I said in my two last letters respecting the Queen's marriage, and that I highly approved of the course you had adopted in persuading her and her Council that it was not to her interest to marry a subject. You will continue to do your utmost to prevent this. As regards myself, if they should broach the subject to you, you should treat it in such a way as neither to accept nor reject the business altogether. It is a matter of such grave importance that it was necessary for me to take counsel and maturely consider it in all its bearings before I sent you my decision. Many great difficulties present themselves and it is difficult for me to reconcile my conscience to it as I am obliged to reside in my other dominions, and consequently could not be much in England, which apparently is what they fear, and also because the Queen has not been sound on religion, and it would not look well for me to marry her unless she were a Catholic. Besides this, such a marriage would appear like entering upon a perpetual war with France, seeing the claims that the Queen of Scots has to the English crown. The urgent need for my presence in Spain, which is greater than I can say here, and the heavy expense I should be put to in England by reason of the costly entertainment necessary to the people there, together with the fact that my treasury is so utterly exhausted as to be unable to meet the most necessary ordinary expenditure, much less new and onerous charges: bearing in mind these and many other difficulties no less grave, which I need not set forth, I nevertheless cannot lose sight of the enormous importance of such a match to Christianity and the preservation of religion which has been restored in England by the help of God. Seeing also the importance that the country should not fall back into its former errors which would cause to our

own neighbouring dominions serious dangers and difficulties, I have decided to place on one side all other considerations which might be urged against it and am resolved to render this service to God, and offer to marry the Queen of England, and will use every possible effort to carry this through if it can be done on the conditions that will be explained to you.

The first and most important is that you should satisfy yourself that the Queen will profess the same religion as I do, which is the same that I shall ever hold, and that she will persevere in the same and maintain and uphold it in the country, and with this end will do all that may appear necessary to me. She will have to obtain secret absolution from the Pope and the necessary dispensation so that when I marry her she will be a Catholic, which she has not hitherto been. In this way it will be evident and manifest that I am serving the Lord in marrying her and that she has been converted by my act.

You will however not propose any conditions until you see how the Queen is disposed towards the matter itself, and mark well that you must commence to broach the subject with the Queen alone, as she has already opened the door to such an approach.

In my marriage treaty with the late Queen it was stipulated that my Netherlands dominions should pass to any issue of the marriage, but as this condition would be very prejudicial to my son (Carlos) it must not be again consented to.

Nothing has been said to the Pope, nor is it desirable until the Queen's consent has been obtained.

The Count de Feria, according to his instructions, awaited his opportunity before venturing to broach this delicate subject with the Queen. In the meanwhile Elizabeth, ready enough to number Philip among her suitors, was carrying on a private correspondence with the King of France in answer to his intriguing invitation to complete a secret treaty of peace with her without taking Philip or his interests into account. While the Conference was suspended, he wrote to Elizabeth,

a second set of Commissioners might meet unobserved in one of three or four remote French villages which he proposed; "and Philip could hardly complain if Elizabeth treated him as Charles the Fifth had treated her father at Crêpy." Elizabeth, not to be tempted into a trap which would make an enemy of Philip at a crisis when his friendship was indispensable, professed herself ready enough to make a separate peace, but asked for further particulars—and at the same time was careful to send Philip word of these underhand overtures on Henry's part. The negotiations appear at length in Forbes's "Full View of the Reign of Elizabeth," (1740—1741). We need give only one letter from each side, beginning with Elizabeth's reply to Henry, in which she encourages him in his secret advances, and suggests, as an alternative to his scheme, that the matter be referred to "some of your trustiest Commissioners for the open treaty of peace already begun at Cercamp":

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

[Forbes's "*Full View of the Reign of Elizabeth.*"]

January 8, 1559.

Monsieur, my good Brother,—By your letter, brought to me by Sir Guido Cavalcanti, this present carrier, I well perceive the sincere and perfect amity and affection which you have always borne towards me, to have been so firm and stable that the same has been nothing diminished in these times of war between my late Sister, the Queen, and you: which, surely, I do more readily believe to be true, considering I find myself not void of the like disposition towards you: and therefore I do most heartily thank you; and do assure you, that I shall, on my part, correspond to this, your amity. . . . I perceive, as well by the rest of your letters, as also by the credit committed to this bearer, the continuance of this your earnest affection, not only towards the private amity between us two, but also towards the common and perfect pacification and union of our realms and subjects; for [the] accomplishment whereof you offer to me,

not only the choice of such manner [of] persons as I shall think meet to treat upon this matter, but also the choice of four several places in your country, wherein the same treaty might be secretly had. I have great cause to like and embrace this good purpose and scope of yours, both for the establishing of our own private amities, and for so beneficial a provision to both our realms and subjects. But as to the naming presently of any such persons, and especially for the sending to the places named, considering this matter ought to be with no less secrecy treated than by your message, I have thought it meeter, to produce this purpose, so well begun, to some fruitful end, to offer the choice of one or two other manner [of] means to you: that is, to require of you, that either you will return by this present bearer in writing some certain particulars and special points, whereupon this matter might be treated; and those to be such as may tend not only to cease these present wars, but also abolish and extinguish the occasions, grounds and roots which might produce the like in time to come, and so frustrate both our meanings for [the] perpetuity of peace: or else to refer the treaty hereof to some of your trustiest commissioners for the open treaty of peace already begun at Cercamp: for answer whereof we shall make choice upon knowledge of your special deputy, to depute, in secrecy, the like. And if this last shall best like you, yet I also think it shall much further both our purposes that I may understand from you some kind of particulars of your meaning, by which likelihood may be gathered, that this amity, so well meant on both sides, may with such reasonable conditions and pacts be knit, as it may be perpetual, and descend and remain as hereditary to our succession, and to our realms and subjects; and that also we may hereby the better determine what authority and credit I shall commit to such person or persons as I shall appoint to this secret purpose; and yet not omit the continuation of the assembly in like manner as it was before

the prorogation of arms; as I have given in charge to this present bearer to declare to you at more length on my part: which is the cause that I remit my further meaning to him, taking him to have an indifferent and right intention towards the perfecting and accomplishing of both our good meanings. And so I pray to God, etc.

P. S. [in French]—My fingers prevent my writing the words with which my heart is full. And if, as the word of a prince is worth more than the oath of a commoner, so dishonour would bring forth hatred, and would be worthy of perpetual infamy.

Your good Sister and Cousin.

It illustrates the byplay of diplomacy in those days to give Philip's remarks on the subject of these negotiations, and then to translate the subsequent letter from the King of France—who little suspected, apparently, that Elizabeth all the time had disclosed his hand to his Spanish rival:

KING PHILIP TO THE COUNT DE FERIA.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

BRUSSELS, *January* 10, 1559.

Councillor Wotton presented to me yesterday the Queen's credential letter of 1st instant and in virtue of it gave me two messages from her. The first was her desire not only to preserve the brotherhood, friendship, and perpetual alliance between us, but also, if such was my wish, to confirm them by celebrating anew the treaties and capitulations which were executed by the Emperor and my predecessors with her country. To this I replied fittingly, saying I thanked the Queen for this proof of her good will, and assured her that my wish always was and would be to observe the treaties we had with England, and indeed to serve and satisfy her in every way, as I had written and sent verbally by Cobham.

The second matter was to let me know that the French had made an attempt, although not openly, to

commence peace negotiations, and although she thought they would not return to the subject, she wished me to be assured, in case they did, that she would not listen to them nor depart from the line she had taken up, namely to carry on the negotiations jointly with us, and to agree to nothing with the French without my knowledge and co-operation.

I replied to this also, thanking the Queen for advising me as to what had happened, and saying I was sure she would do as she said, knowing, as she did, the way I had acted in these peace negotiations, and the care I had taken of English interests, in respect of which alone I had refrained from concluding peace with the French with whom I was quite agreed on all other points. Only their decision is awaited to conclude peace, and although no doubt Wotton will advise the Queen of this, I think well to let you know, both for your information and that you may thank her heartily from me, and satisfy her on these points as opportunity offers in accordance with my wishes which you know. . . .

THE KING OF FRANCE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[Forbes's "*Full View of the Reign of Elizabeth.*"]

PARIS, *January* 20, 1559.

Madame, my good Sister,—Although the friendship which I have had for you all my life has been so perfect that it has made me feel that yours must be as firm as mine, so that I have never permitted myself to have the least doubt or scruple in the world about it, nevertheless the reassurance of it which you have been pleased to give me in the letter which the carrier has just brought me on your behalf, has been so agreeable to me that I do not know what greater happiness I could have received. The more so as I see from it that, in order to ensure the permanence of this, our mutual affection, you show yourself truly disposed to the common pacification and union of our kingdoms, countries, and subjects, so that in writing to you I

hereby resolve to put into effect all that may be hoped of an honourable and virtuous prince, your best and most true friend, and I think that the result cannot fail to bring an infinite contentment for us both, and perpetual blessing, repose, and tranquillity to our two kingdoms, and, if it shall please God, to all Christendom.

So that we may succeed, and bring our fixed intention to a happy issue, you make a proposal to me of two ways: one of which is that I shall send you by this carrier, with my letter and instructions, some particular directions on special points as to the manner in which this matter should be treated, so that we may not only be able to end this present war, but also to abolish and root up for ever all such occasions; and the other way, to refer the treaty with which we are concerned to some servant of mine, in whom I shall place much confidence, and shall send him as my deputy to the public treaty which has already begun at Cercamp; and that you, on your part, will also depute some one in like manner, so that he may confer secretly with mine. As to which, after having much praised your good will, and having considered the reasons which have prevented you from hearing what I had to tell you on my part, and having pondered and well weighed both of your said two ways, it seems to me that to refer this negotiation to the said general assembly, even though our delegates were charged to act in the most skilful and secret manner possible, and were possessed of our entire confidence in their fidelity and prudence, it is almost certain that the actions, not only of my ministers, but of all those who are there, either on your part, or on that of the King of Spain, would be watched so closely by the sharpest eyes there are in the world, that it would not only be difficult, but almost impossible, [to hinder] any communication between them being instantly discovered, in spite of our common wish and design.

For this cause, being cast on the first of the said two ways, which seems to me the safest and most

secret, I send back to you the said carrier with a memorandum which I have made him take of all which I judged would serve to prove my good faith, strengthen this negotiation, and knit our united and sincere amity in a new and firmer pact, so that it may not only be inseverable during our lives, but shall also become hereditary, and be firmly established both for ourselves and for our successors, that our two kingdoms, countries, and subjects may ever live in a perpetual state of rest, peace, and tranquillity; all of which the said carrier will inform you in more detail. Trusting in which, and in what I know of your fidelity and good will, I will not make this present any longer, except to offer my very good, brotherly, and cordial esteem to your good Grace; and I pray to God, Madame, my good Sister, that He may have you in His most holy, and safe keeping.

Postscript.—Finding that time allows me, Madame, my good Sister, to show you a better proof of the greatness of my esteem, and a testimony of my steadfastness, I have placed in the hands of this carrier a small present, which I entreat you to receive with as much good will and affection as it is offered to you, with a sure place in the heart of your good brother and cousin, HENRY.

Elizabeth, though delighted with Henry's "beautiful present," told him that she hesitated to accept it "if it be offered to her by him as a prince with whom she is at war, and not as from a private personage; thanking him as many times as she has written letters, or there are words in this."[1] But she was not to be bribed into risking the loss of Spain's support for the sake of the doubtful friendship of France; so the separate meeting of French and English Commissioners fell through, the negotiations being continued by the less dangerous means of correspondence, and afterwards settled at the open conference which assembled at Cateau-Cambresis

[1] Abstract of her letter dated January 29, 1559 [Foreign Calendar: Elizabeth].

at the expiration of the two months' truce. Meantime Elizabeth had been crowned at the Abbey, and made her grand recognition procession through the streets of her capital, an extremely picturesque account of which appears in the seventh volume of the Venetian State Papers, published in 1890. Although no authorised representative had been appointed by the Signory of Venice to the Court of England since Giovanni Michiel left to accompany King Philip in July, 1557, the gap in the correspondence is to some extent filled by a series of letters which Rawdon Brown discovered in the State Archives of Mantua, written by a correspondent who signed himself "Il Schifanoya," which, being translated, means a lazy, idle fellow. Rawdon Brown, who did not live to see the volume published, always believed this to be an assumed name, but Mr. G. Cavendish Bentinck, who succeeded him in the editorship, discovered that it was the true name of the writer—a Mantuan who was then in the service of Sir John Tresham, the Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and was himself, it seems, a member of that Order. Il Schifanoya had exceptional opportunities of witnessing the great events of his day in London, and his letters are full of intimate details:

IL SCHIFANOYA TO THE CASTELLAN OF MANTUA.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *January* 23, 1559.

As I suppose your Lordship will have heard of the farce performed in the presence of Her Majesty on the day of the Epiphany, and I not having sufficient intellect to interpret it, nor yet the mummery performed after supper on the same day, of crows in the habits of Cardinals, of asses habited as Bishops, and of wolves representing Abbots, I will consign it to silence, as also the new commencement of ritual made in Her Majesty's Chapel with the English Litanies, which omit Saint Mary, all the Saints, the Pope, and the Dead. Nor will I record the levities and unusual licentiousness practised at the Court in dances and banquets, nor the masquerade of friars in

the streets of London, nor the statue of St. Thomas stoned and beheaded, which is now thrown down entirely, and the stucco statue of a little girl placed in its stead; limiting myself exclusively to the coronation, entertainments, ceremonies, pomps, and pageants, made as you will see by the accompanying copies.

Her Majesty, being pleased to follow the example of her ancestors about the coronation, determined to have it performed on the 15th January of this year 1559; so she left her palace of Whitehall on Thursday the 12th to go to the Tower by water. The necessary ships, galleys, brigantines, &c., were prepared as sumptuously as possible to accompany Her Majesty and her Court thither by the Thames, which reminded me of Ascension Day at Venice, when the Signory go to espouse the sea.

At 2 p.m., the flood-tide then serving to pass under London Bridge, Her Majesty, accompanied by many knights, barons, ladies, and by the whole Court, passing through the private corridor, embarked in her barge, which was covered with its usual tapestries, both externally and internally, and was towed by a long galley rowed by forty men in their shirts, with a band of music, as usual when the Queen goes by water. Her Majesty having passed the bridge, in sight of the Tower, some pieces of artillery were fired; she landed at the private stairs, and, entering by a little bridge, was seen but by very few persons.

On the morning of Saturday the 14th, as in the afternoon Her Majesty was to make her state entry into London, the whole Court so sparkled with jewels and gold collars, that they cleared the air, though it snowed a little. During this assemblage the Queen dined. The houses on the way were all decorated; there being on both sides of the street, from Blackfriars to St. Paul's, wooden barricades, on which the merchants and artisans of every trade leant in long black gowns lined with hoods of red and black cloth, such as are usually worn by the rectors of universities in Italy, with all their ensigns, banners, and

standards, which were innumerable, and made a very fine show. Owing to the deep mud caused by the foul weather and by the multitude of people and of horses, everyone had made preparation, by placing sand and gravel in front of their houses.

The number of horses was in all 1,000, and last of all came Her Majesty in an open litter, trimmed down to the ground with gold brocade, with a raised pile, and carried by two very handsome mules covered with the same material, and surrounded by a multitude of footmen in crimson velvet jerkins, all studded with massive gilt silver, with the arms of a white and red rose on their breasts and backs, and laterally the letters E.R. for Elizabetta Regina wrought in relief, the usual livery of this Crown, which makes a superb show. They were uncovered, and without anything on their heads. The Gentlemen-Pensioners of the Axe walked at the sides, with hammers in hand, and clad in crimson damask, given them by the Queen for livery, all being on foot and bareheaded.

Her Majesty was dressed in a royal robe of very rich cloth of gold, with a double-raised stiff pile, and on her head over a coif of cloth of gold, beneath which was her hair, a plain gold crown without lace, as a princess, but covered with jewels, and nothing in her hands but gloves.

Behind the litter came Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse, mounted on a very fine charger, and leading a white hackney covered with cloth of gold. Then came the Lord Chamberlain and other Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Chamber, who were followed by nine pages dressed in crimson satin on very handsome chargers richly caparisoned, with their Governor and Lieutenant.

After passing the Tower, Her Majesty arrived at . . . . .[1] where the Londoners had raised the first triumphal arch, which was very lofty, divided into three floors. In the first were King Henry the

[1] Blank in MS.

Seventh, of the House of Lancaster, with a large white rose in front of him, and his wife, the Queen Elizabeth, of the House of York, with another large red rose in front of her, both in royal robes.

On the second floor above there were seated King Henry VIII. with a white and red rose in front of him, with the pomegranate between them, and Queen Anne Boleyn, mother of the present one, with a white eagle and a gold crown on its head and a gilt sceptre in its right talon, the other resting on a hillock; and surrounded in front of her by small branches of little roses, the coat of arms and device of the said Queen.

On the third floor above a Queen was seen in majesty, to represent the present one, who is descended from the aforesaid.

Externally and above, as façade, there were the royal arms of England, trophies, festoons, &c.

The arch had three fronts and three entrances, two small, and a great one, with columns, capitals, and bases, &c.

In the compartment on one side were written in English, and on the other side in Latin, the following verses :—

Hi, quos jungit idem [1] quos annulus idem,
Hæc albente nitens, ille rubente rosa,
Septimus Henricus Rex, Regina Elizabetha,
Scilicet, hæredes gentis uterque suæ:
Hæc Eboracensis, Lancastrus ille, dederunt
Connubio, e geminis quæ foret una domus.
Excipit hos hæres Henricus copula regum
Octavus. Magni regis imago potens,
Regibus hinc succedis avis, regique parenti,
Patris juxta hæres, Elizabetha, tui!

On Her Majesty approaching the aforesaid arch a boy, in a little chair above the centre door, briefly interpreted the whole subject, and Her Majesty listened to him most attentively, evincing much satisfaction.

Then going on her way by Cornhill, having passed the first water conduit, which was painted with the

[1] Blank in original; probably the word omitted was "vinclum."—*G. Cavendish Bentinck.*

royal arms and English and Latin mottoes, farther on she found the second arch, no less handsome than the first, but not so high, with a very extravagant inscription, purporting that hitherto religion had been misunderstood and misdirected, and that now it will proceed on a better footing, which was exemplified by a queen seated aloft on her throne, there being on one side many persons clad in various fashions, with labels inscribed *Religio pura; Justicia gubernandi; Intelligentia; Sapientia; Prudentia; Timor Dei.* On the other side, hinting I believe at the past, were *Ignorance*, *Superstition*, *Hypocrisy*, *Vain Glory*, *Simulation*, *Rebellion*, and *Idolatry*.

This arch had in like manner three doors, on the two smaller of which were written in capital letters in English and Latin the following verses :—

Quæ subnixa alto solio Regina superba est,
Effigie sanctæ Principis alma refert,
Quam civilis amor fulcit, sapientia rimat,
Justitia illustrat, religioque beat.
Vana superstitio et crassæ ignorantiæ fontes
Pressæ sub pura religione jacent.
Regis amor domat effrænos [1] animosque rebelles
Justus.[2]
Cum regit imperium sapiens, si in [3] luce sedebunt
Stultitia, atque hujus numen, inanis honor.

When passing under the arch an interpreter explained the whole to Her Majesty, as at the first arch.

On entering Cheapside, near the church of St. Thomas, after passing the fountain, which had been newly repainted with arms, labels, and mottoes, in English and Latin, she found the third arch with the eight beatitudes described by the Evangelist Matthew, chapter V., verses 1 to 10, all of which they deem Her Majesty to possess, as appears by the following verses on the sides in Latin and English ; Her Majesty being informed of the meaning of this inscription as she had been of the others.

[1] "Effrænois" in MS.
[2] *Sic.*
[3] *Sic;* qu. sine.

Qui lugent, hilares fient. Qui mitia gestant
Pectora, multa soli jugera culta metent.
Justitiam exuriens, sitiensve replebitur ipse.
Fas homini puro corde videre Deum.
Quem alterius miseret, Dominus miserabitur hujus.
Pacificus quisquis filius ille Dei est.
Propter justitiam quisquis patietur, habetque
Demissam mentem, cœlica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi Terram, Mare, Sidera vovit
Omnipotens: horum quisque beatus erit.

Further on she came to the little conduit, which is a small tower having eight fronts, called the Standard, and on it there were painted to the life all the kings and queens chronologically in their royal robes down to Her present Majesty.

At a short distance thence she found the great cross, like a pyramid, completely gilt and somewhat renovated, with all the saints in relief, they being neither altered nor diminished; and at the end of that street she was presented by the aldermen with a purse containing 1,000 gold marks; the Recorder of London making her a very short speech.

The fourth arch had on it two mounts, somewhat separated from each other; the one green, flourishing and fruitful, the other dry, sterile and uncultivated. On the summit of the green mount there sat a handsome youth well dressed, joyous, and jocund, under the shade of green laurel. On the sterile mount there sat another youth dressed in black velvet, melancholy, pale, and wan, under a dry and arid tree, loaded with labels and mottoes indicating the cause of its dryness and sterility, whilst on the green mount conversely the cause of its greenness and fertility were demonstrated. Between the two mounts there was a grotto with a wicket, and when Her Majesty arrived at it, an old man, scythe in hand, representing "Time," came forth, accompanied by his daughter "Truth," and expressed a wish to mow and reap the grass on the pleasant mount; an allusion to the money heretofore coined by Her Majesty of holy memory. The whole implied in their tongue that the withered mount was the past state, and the green one the present, and that

the time for gathering the fruits of truth was come; as by the following verses in Latin and English :—

Ille videns falcem læva quam sustinet uncam,
Tempus is est, cui stat filia vera comes.
Hanc pater exesam, deducta rupe, reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui sedet a læva cultu malo tristis inepto,
Quem duris crescens cautibus arbor obit,
Nos monet effigie qua sit respublica quando
Corruit; et contra, [quam][2] beata viget,
Ille docet juvenis, forma laudandus,
Festus, et æterna laurea fronde virens.

On the left side of the arch there was a little pulpit, from which a lad explained the whole meaning of the two mounts, presenting Her Majesty with a book generally supposed to be the New Testament in English, which the Queen clasped in her arms and embraced passionately, returning thanks, &c.

Her Majesty then turned towards St. Paul's churchyard to enter Fleet Street, passing the City of London School, where the scholars made her the following oration.[1]

"Philosophus ille divinus Plato, inter multa præclare ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit, Rempublicam illam fœlicissimam fore, cui Princeps sophiæ studiosa, virtutibusque ornata contigerit. Quem si vera dixisse [2] (ut quidam),[2] cur non Terra Britanica plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atque lætitiam agitaret? cur non hunc diem albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? quo Princeps talis nobis adest, qualem priorem non viserunt, qualemque posteritas haud facile concernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis undique fœlicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ sunt, ut oratione non egeant; animi vero tot tantæque, ut ne verbis quidem exprimi possunt. Hæc nempe Regibus summis orta morum atque animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Hujus pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britanicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypeoque justitiæ teget.

[1] This is obviously the St. Paul's School, the founder of which, John Colet, is referred to on the next page. The original schoolhouse in St. Paul's Churchyard was burned in the Great Fire of 1666.

[2] Blank in original.

Hæc literis Græcis et Latinis eximia, ingenioque præpollens est. Hac imperante, pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea sæcula redibunt. Vos igitur, Angli, tot commoda accepturi, Elizabetham Reginam vestram celeberrimam, ab ipso Christo hujus regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Hujus imperiis animo libentissimo subditi estote, vosque tali Principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus officium præstare possunt, nos alumni hujus scholæ, ab ipso Coletto[1] olim Templi Paulini Decano extructæ, teneras palmas ad cœlum tendentes, Christum Optimum Maximum precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremque pignoribus charis beatam reddat. Amen.

Anglia, nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, resulta !
  Præsto jam vita est, presidiumque tibi.
En tua spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne ;
  Venit jam solidam quæ tibi præstat opem,
Succurretque tuis rebus, quæ pessum abiere.
  Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volat.
Omnia florebunt ; redeunt nunc aurea secla.
  In melius surgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam,
  Cujus in accessu commoda tot capies.
Salve, igitur dicas, immo de pectore summo,
  Elizabeth, Regni non dubitanda salus !
Virgo venit, veniuntque opes. Comitata deinceps
  Pignoribus charis læta parens veniat.
Hoc Deus Omnipotens ex alto donet Olympo,
  Qui cœlum et terram condidit atque regit.

On Sunday, 15th January, Mass was sung for the coronation in Westminster Abbey, which was decorated with the handsomest and most precious tapestries that were ever seen, they having been purchased by Henry VIII., representing on one side the whole of Genesis, and on the other the Acts of the Apostles, from a design by Raffael d'Urbino ; and the chambers were hung with the history of Cæsar and Pompey. At one of the sides the buffet was prepared with its raised steps, on which were seen 140 gold and silver

[1] John Colet.

drinking cups, besides others which were below for the service.

The Queen was received under the canopy by the Archbishop and another Bishop, they having previously perfumed her with incense, giving her the holy water and the pax, the choristers singing; then the Earl of Rutland followed Her Majesty with a plain naked sword without any point, signifying Ireland, which has never been conquered; then came the Earl of Exeter with the second sword; the third was borne by Viscount Montague; the Earl of Arundel, having been made Lord Steward and High Constable for that day, carried the fourth (sword) of royal justice, with its gilt scabbard loaded with pearls. The orb was carried by the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Marshal, and in advance were knights clad in the ducal fashion, carrying the three crowns, they being the three Kings-at-arms; they bore the three sceptres, with their three crowns of iron, of silver, and of gold on their heads, and in their hands three naked iron swords, signifying the three titles of England, France, and Ireland.

In this way they proceeded to the church, the Queen's long train being carried by the Duchess of Norfolk, after whom followed the Lord Chamberlain, upon purple cloth spread on the ground; and as Her Majesty passed, the cloth was cut away by those who could get it. Then followed the duchesses, marchionesses, countesses, etc., dragging their trains after them, going two by two, and being exquisitely dressed, with their coronets on their heads, and so handsome and beautiful that it was a marvellous sight. On Her Majesty's arrival, all the bells in London ringing, she ascended the lofty tribune erected between the high altar and the choir, being thus exhibited to the people, of whom it was asked if they wished her to be their crowned Queen? Whereupon they all shouted "Yes"; and the organs, fifes, trumpets, and drums playing, the bells also ringing, it seemed as if the world were come to an end.

Descending from the tribune, the Queen placed herself under her royal canopy; and then the choristers commenced the Mass, which was sung by the Dean of her Chapel, her Chaplain, the Bishops not having chosen to say Mass without elevating the Host or consecrating it, as that worthy individual did; the Epistle and Gospel being recited in English.[1]

After the Epistle, the Bishop of Carlisle commenced the coronation according to the Roman ceremonial, neither altering nor omitting anything but the outward forms, which were not observed as in Italy; the English having no Master of the Ceremonies, except the Kings-at-arms, and still less caring about formalities.

The Mass and all the ceremonies being concluded, and the Queen having twice changed her apparel, they returned into Westminster Hall in the same order as at first, except that the clergy and the bishops remained in the Abbey; Her Majesty carrying in her hands the sceptre and orb, and wearing the ample royal robe of cloth of gold. She returned very cheerfully, with a most smiling countenance for every one, giving them all a thousand greetings, so that in my opinion she exceeded the bounds of gravity and decorum. Meanwhile, the Lord Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Steward, the Earl of Arundel, in accordance with their offices, proceeded to arrange the banquet. After inspecting the hall and excluding many persons, and carefully attending to the tables and the kitchen, the Queen during this interval having divested herself of her heavy robe, they dressed themselves again in short capes according to the Spanish fashion, the Earl of Arundel in cloth of gold, and the Duke of Norfolk in silver tissue, both their capes being lined with sables.

They then mounted two fine chargers, both of which had housings of the same material as their riders' apparel, the Duke's horse being covered with

[1] See Mr. Rait's introduction to the present volume, p. xix.

white lions rampant. The Duke was bareheaded, and had a silver truncheon in his hand, indicating the office of Lord Marshal. Arundel bore a silver staff a yard in length, indicating the office of Lord Constable, who for that day commanded the Duke and everybody. Both of them went about the victuals; and after 3 p.m., when the Queen commenced washing her hands, the water and the napkin were given her by the noblemen who had waited on Her Majesty as server and as carver, viz., William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, and the Earl of Sussex [Henry Ratcliffe], the former carving, and the latter placing and removing the dishes, both of them serving on their knees.

Beside Her Majesty there stood those two Earls who had supported her to the Abbey by the arms, viz., Shrewsbury and Pembroke, with the sceptre and orb in their hands; the others likewise being in the Queen's presence with the aforesaid iron swords. They all remained covered with their coronets on their heads, and although Her Majesty spoke occasionally to some of them, they never uncovered, except when she drank all their healths, thanking them for the trouble they had taken.

The banquet lasted till the ninth hour of the night,[1] and I need not say that it was a stately one, as all persons may think for themselves. No one served but peers and the sons of peers. Much music was performed, but it not being remarkable, and having heard better, I will say nothing about it.

Westminster Hall is 400 paces in length (*sic*); in it four tables were prepared, but divided in the centre to facilitate the waiting of the servants, who all had red liveries; and no one was allowed, or at most but a few, to enter the Hall, or to remain there, unless he was dressed in red.

The Barons, titled and untitled, with the Council

[1] *Sino alle nove hore di notte.* On January 15 the sun sets at 4h. 18m., so by Italian reckoning the banquet lasted till 1h. 18m. a.m. on Monday morning.—*G. Cavendish Bentinck.*

and Aldermen, Mayor, Sheriffs, and other men of the law, servants of the Court, baronesses, duchesses, ladies (of quality ?), etc., sat at the first table, the peeresses having their coronets on their heads, there being also numerous knights and gentlemen of all sorts. At each table there sat upwards of 200 persons.

After the second course, which was brought like the first one to the trumpets' sound, and preceded by the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Norfolk on horseback, a knight in steel armour, spear on thigh, and on a very handsome barbed charger, after saluting the Queen, proclaimed three times to the people that if there was any person of any grade or condition who denied, disputed, or contradicted that the Queen his Sovereign (pointing at her) was not the true and legitimate crowned Queen of England, France, and Ireland, he was ready to maintain it by force of arms to the death, throwing down his gauntlet each time; and as no one answered him, he took leave of Her Majesty, who drank his health and thanked him, giving him a silver-gilt cup worth 200 crowns. This was a country gentleman, whose family has long been privileged to do this at all the coronations.

The banquet being ended, the collation was brought by three Earls—Bedford, Oxford, and Montague.[1] Shortly afterwards Her Majesty rose, and by a covered way returned to her Palace of Whitehall by water; everybody in like manner returning home.

On Monday, the 16th, these English personages (*signori*) had prepared a joust, but it was postponed until the morrow, Her Majesty feeling rather tired. I was not present. They could not finish it on the first day, the challengers, viz., the Duke of Norfolk, Sir George Howard, and Lord Robert Dudley, having as many hits as the adventurers. The judges therefore could not award the prize, which, as they jousted for love, was a diamond.

[1] Anthony Browne was a viscount, not an earl. He was created first Viscount Montague in 1554, and though a zealous Catholic was a staunch supporter of Elizabeth.

On Monday next, the 23rd, please God, Parliament will commence; all the peers accompanying the Queen in her royal crimson robe, preceded by the cap and sword, carried by some great personage, and the bishops in their rochets, over which they wear a scarlet cape with a cardinal's hood, but not so long, and they carry their own trains.

I pray God of His goodness and mercy to enlighten them to do what may be according to His holy will. —IL SCHIFANOYA.

The opening of Elizabeth's first Parliament was delayed until January the 25th, as stated by our gossiping chronicler in his entertaining letter of the 30th:

IL SCHIFANOYA TO OCTAVIANO VIVALDINO, MANTUAN AMBASSADOR WITH KING PHILIP AT BRUSSELS.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

LONDON, *January* 30, 1559.

Parliament was to have commenced on the 23rd, but was adjourned for two days owing to events and to the bad weather; so on Wednesday the 25th, St. Paul's Day, all the peers of this realm, both temporal and spiritual, who sit in Parliament, with two members for every unwalled district (*villa*), castle, and borough, and four for each city, called by them "the Lower House," went to the place appointed them, and awaited the arrival of Her Majesty at the church as usual for the Mass of the Holy Ghost, which custom was not observed this year, the Mass having been sung at an early hour in Westminster Abbey, without elevating the Sacrament, as is done in the Chapel Royal.

The Court having dined rather earlier than usual, Her Majesty came to the Abbey, attended by all the gentlemen, both of the Court and of other conditions, and by all the peers in their coronation robes (and including spiritual and temporal, titled and untitled,

they were about 46), in her ordinary litter, wearing a royal crimson robe lined with ermine, but not with the hood, as generally worn by former [sovereigns]. The robe fitted close to the body, and was high up to the throat, with a lace trimming at the top, and a round cape of ermine like the one worn by the Doge of Venice, with a cap of beaten gold covered with very fine oriental pearls on her head, and a necklace, from which was suspended a most marvellous pendant. As on her passage the populace knelt, shouting "God save and maintain thee," she turned first to one side and then to the other, answering "Gramercy, good people," and smiling most sweetly on all of them.

The Earl of Arundel carried the royal sword on a small truncheon, and Her Majesty was followed by the ladies and dames on horseback, with their footmen all dressed in their own fashion.

This procession was neither more nor less than on the entry into London, with the trumpets, kings-at-arms, heralds, and macebearers.

On arriving at Westminster Abbey, the Abbot, robed pontifically, with all his monks in procession, each of them having a lighted torch in his hand, received her as usual, giving her first of all incense and holy water; and when Her Majesty saw the monks who accompanied her with the torches, she said, "Away with those torches, for we see very well"; and her choristers singing the litany in English, she was accompanied to the high altar under her canopy. Thereupon Dr. Cox, a married priest, who has hitherto been beyond the sea, ascended the pulpit and preached the sermon, in which, after saying many things freely against the monks, proving by his arguments that they ought to be persecuted and punished by Her Majesty, as they were impious for having caused the burning of so many poor innocents under pretext of heresy, on which he expatiated greatly; he then commenced praising Her Majesty, saying amongst other things that God had given her this dignity to the end that she might no longer allow

or tolerate the past iniquities; exhorting her to destroy the images of the saints, the churches, the monasteries, and all other things dedicated to divine worship; proving by his own arguments, that it is very great impiety and idolatry to endure them; and saying many other things against the Christian religion. This sermon lasted an hour and a half, the peers standing the whole time, after which they went to the place prepared for the Parliament, which is a handsome chamber, furnished with very fine hangings and benches all round, as seats for the peers, and the royal canopy and throne, with its cushions of cloth of gold, for Her Majesty; and in the centre there were some scarlet wool sacks, where the auditors, secretaries, Chancellor, and lawyers sit. This hall is separated from the Lower House, which is like a theatre, and in which the representatives of the cities, castles, boroughs, and unwalled districts assemble.

On Her Majesty entering Parliament with all the peers, after silence had been enjoined, the official who has the custody of the Great Seal, and holds the place of the Lord Chancellor, having made a reverence to the Queen, delivered an eloquent speech, alluding to three essential points: the first, "Pro reformanda religione, et tollenda idolatria"; the second, "Pro mitigandis nonnullis legibus pœnalibus"; the third and last, "Pro petendo subsidio contra hostes"; proving how just and reasonable this was, &c. This speech being ended, Her Majesty rose, and went to her palace by water, whereupon everybody departed.

Parliament resumed yesterday, when the Lower House elected their Speaker, who is the personage who goes to and fro expressing and reporting the will of the Lower House, and of the House of Lords.

To-morrow, as usual, Her Majesty will return to Parliament, and, should she think fit, will confirm the Speaker presented to her by the Commons, who will make a speech, excusing himself as not being worthy of such a charge nor sufficient for it; and being

answered by the Queen's Commissioner that Her Majesty commends his election, he then asks two favours of her: the first, that it be lawful for every member to state his opinion freely, without respect or fear, or dread of capital punishment or loss of property, or incurring any penalty; the second, that no member be legally molested by his creditors during Parliament; which are always obtained, though every one is careful how he speaks, lest he incur either wrath or contempt.—IL SCHIFANOYA.

The Count de Feria continues the narrative in the letter which he sent to Philip on the last day of January, 1559. The Catholics had reason to be "fearful of the measures to be taken in this Parliament," for, as Feria says in one of his later letters, the town and country had chosen their representatives among those who were notorious for their hatred of popes and priesthoods. The letter is interesting, too, for its indication of the way in which Guido Cavalcanti's movements were being watched by the Spaniards—proof of Cecil's and Elizabeth's wisdom in letting Philip into the secret of the French negotiations—and for its ominous suggestion that the King might like to arrange "some trick to be played on him if it can be done." Philip in his reply—which follows this letter—merely instructed Feria "to find out what he brings from France on his return, using any means you think fit":

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO KING PHILIP.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

LONDON, *January* 31, 1559.

I wrote to your Majesty by a post despatched on the 20th, giving an account of events to that date. Since then I have only seen the Queen once, in the little chamber leading out of the privy-chamber. She conversed with me very gaily. She has not been very well lately and the opening of Parliament was postponed in consequence from the 23rd to the 25th, on which latter day she went thither between 10 and 11

o'clock, but would not allow the Abbot and monks of Westminster to receive her as is usual, but went to the hall of Parliament itself. She returned thither some three or four days after in the afternoon. They have proposed three things, first that the religion should be reformed or changed ; secondly, that all laws recently passed should be revoked ; and thirdly, to ask for money.

The Catholics are very fearful of the measures to be taken in this Parliament. The members of the Council who are foremost in upsetting things are Cecil and the Earl of Bedford, and the Earl of Sussex is the worst of those outside. I understand that the Councillors are beginning to be convinced that she does not wish to marry in the country, and this is causing them to hurry on the heresy business. But after all everything depends on the husband she chooses, for the King's wish is paramount here in all things.

On this occasion I did not revert to the pending discussion, nor have I done so since as I thought best to wait for the Parliament to press the Queen to marry, as I hear from her that they will, and she wishes to await it, although I do not believe she will declare her choice whilst Parliament is sitting, because if the person chosen is not to their liking they could use the national voice to stop the affair. But another reason is that she was suffering from a bad cold when I saw her, and has been almost ever since. I await your Majesty's letter to press her further on the very first opportunity, as I am exceedingly anxious to see the end of this business, and it is most important that your Majesty should know the result as soon as possible. By last post I wrote your Majesty that I had been told that the Queen took the holy sacrament "sub utraque specie" on the day of the coronation, but it was all nonsense. She did not take it at all. The Chamberlain left on the 18th. He did not go before as the ship struck, and he was nearly killed. They sent a post to the Bishop of Ely and

Wotton telling them to go on to the place of meeting without waiting for the Chamberlain, and begin the negotiations.

The person I told your Majesty had been in hiding in the Treasurer's chambers in the palace, I know now to have been Guido Cavalcanti. I believe the departure of the Chamberlain was delayed to await the answer this man would bring from France, but up to the present he has not returned. I am having him well watched so that directly he puts foot on shore they will let me know, and if your Majesty wishes even for some trick to be played on him it can be done.

The Catholics in this country, who are many, place all their hope in your Majesty, and it is curious how anxious they are to know what I am doing. When we have to come to close quarters they will all be on your side and against the King of France, as they think they will be ruined if he gets his foot in here. The heretics announce that your Majesty is going to Spain, and the Queen asked me if it were true the last time I saw her, saying that she had been told you had written to that effect to the late Queen. I said I was not aware of it. In Scotland I believe they are ill-treating the English. I am sure they are not doing it so much as I could wish.

KING PHILIP TO THE COUNT DE FERIA.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

February 10, 1559.

. . . I have been pained to hear from you that the first thing they proposed in Parliament was to reform or change the religion, as I see the harm and trouble that may result from it both in England and the rest of Christendom, and the danger being so imminent, it behoves us to use all speed to obviate the evil which threatens, unless God should ordain otherwise. I therefore wrote to the Duke of Alba an autograph letter, of a portion of which I enclose a copy, asking him, Ruy Gomez, and the Bishop of Arras, their

opinion on the matter, so that I should not have to decide on a question of such great importance on my own opinion alone. They answered me as you see by copy enclosed, and after deeply considering their answer with the rest of my Council of State, I have decided that as soon as you receive this you will seek the best opportunity you can to see the Queen, and tell her from me that as a good and true brother, who really wishes her well, both on account of our relationship and because I desire to see her firmly and peacefully established on the throne, I must warn her to ponder and consider deeply the evils which may result in England from a change of religion, particularly thus early in her reign, and the dissensions and perturbation which may arise therefrom; and I therefore beg and entreat her to hold her hand and not to allow any innovations, seeing how much the preservation and stability of the State depend upon it. You will enforce this with all the good arguments and most persuasive words which you can employ so as to prevent such pernicious novelties being adopted to God's offence. You will use in this matter every mode and form you may think best and all the care and diligence that such an important affair demands, but if notwithstanding all your efforts you see that they still go on with their intention, and that you can obtain no success in that way, you had better consider whether it will not be well to press the Queen by saying that if this change is made all idea of my marriage with her must be broken off, and if she has any thoughts of the marriage this may be efficacious. Of course you will be best able to judge if this can be taken advantage of, and if so when, where, and in what manner, as you are on the spot and probably have some further knowledge of the Queen's feelings. I therefore entrust this matter to your prudence, tact, and experience, leaving you to proceed how and when you think best according to the humour of the Queen, because from here no more precise orders than these can be given to you, only to recommend the matter to

you very earnestly for the service of Our Lord and the welfare of His religion. Advise us at once what is done. I am pleased at what you say about the number and spirit of Catholics of England and their devotion to me, and you must try to keep them the best you can. Respecting my going to Spain you will satisfy them as you like so as not to harm the principal business, as you are aware of my real intention and the importance of my going thither. My Commissioners met those of the King of France on the 6th instant, but nothing passed but salutations, as the French would only consent to begin where they left off, namely, on the English question, so they were all waiting for the arrival of Lord Chamberlain Howard, who, as the Duke of Alba writes, arrived there on the 9th instant, and they were to begin to treat at once. I am sure we shall soon see the result of it.

Respecting Guido Cavalcanti I have only to say that you must try to find out what he brings from France on his return, using any means or ways you think fit. I thank you for your care in keeping me well advised, and it is hardly necessary for me to urge you to continue to do so.

Note in the handwriting of the King :—

Consider if it will be well also to tell the Queen, in case she should not give way about religion, that she should be suspicious of the heretical party, as the French have more communication with them and trust them more, and that the Catholics will never trust the French, which is true, but you will see what arguments are best to use.

Just as I was signing this the courier arrived from Cateau—Cambresis, bringing me news that after my people had communicated with the English they found them all as firm about Calais as ever, and Howard and his colleagues said that they had no other instructions about Calais, or anything else than they had before and consequently my people were in fear of a rupture. I do not know whether these English are

trying to deceive us here, or have deceived you in saying that they had an open commission about Calais. The French are as hasty as the devil, and so I fear the worst for me, as I can hold out no longer. You must consider whether you can do anything more or wait to see what happens at the next meeting, of which I will advise you at once. They certainly must be pressed either to help me very handsomely or let me make peace, for it is most important to me.

Lord William Paget here reappears on the scene with a letter of advice to Cecil and Parry. He had ceased to be Lord Privy Seal at the beginning of the new reign, and had also retired from the Council, but he gave Elizabeth loyal advice on more than one occasion :

LORD WILLIAM PAGET TO SIR THOMAS PARRY AND SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

[*Burghley State Papers :* (Haynes).]

February 20, 1559.

Because I know you two to be faithful counsellors to the Queen's Majesty, and that I, lying like a beast here, am not able to come to the Court without danger of my health ; therefore I thought good, for declaration of my duty to Her Majesty, to put you in remembrance of things that you have known in our days.

The necessity of friendship with the House of Burgundy, which in these latter days hath been, and is abler to stand us in stead than they were in King Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh's days.

The natural enmity between us and France and their greater power and ability to seek and pursue their revenge than heretofore they have had ; and as for their disposition, Mr. Wotton and Mr. Shelley can tell you of their promise touching Boulogne, and the like is well known touching the surprise of Calais, when we were in peace with them at both times ; and yet we believe their words still as the Gospel. The

French grow every day more and more *patientes laboris, vigiliarum, inedie, sitis, etc.* and we grow *socordes et ignavi, etc.*

The Burgundians, though they be mighty, yet they be cold and phlegmatic, and slow in their doings, but yet they do their things though it be long. The French do all their things with great celerity and diligence.

If the French should invade us by sea or by Scotland, the King of Spain would also enter as our friend or our foe. If we take part with neither of them, they will fasten their feet both of them here and make a Piedmont of us. If we take part with the one, we ourselves shall be afterwards made a prey by the victor. God save us from the sword, for we have been plagued of late with famine and pestilence. For God's sake move that good Queen to put her sword into her hand. She shall the better make her bargain with her doubtful friends and enemies. Move her to cause those things that she will have done by Parliament to be shortly done, and to provide for the rest. And move Her Majesty to use that goodly wit, that goodly knowledge, and that great and special grace of understanding and judgment of things that God hath given her, and so I believe she shall *quærere regnum Dei*, and maintain her own *Regnum* also.

If I have been tedious to you in writing thus foolishly, I pray you make the best of it, and think it is of a zeal to the Queen's Majesty and to my country, and to myself also. And thus ceasing to weary my lame hand, God send you as well to do as I would myself. Your very friend, WILLIAM PAGET.

Cecil knew better than to continue the costly campaign solely for the sake of Calais. It was one of his pet principles "That a realm gaineth more by one year's peace than by ten years' war," and he realised, as well as did his mistress, that England's most urgent need at that time was to bring to an end the disastrous struggle in which Mary's Spanish alliance had involved her kingdom. Elizabeth, however, held out as

long as she dared. Lord William Howard was sent over to join Dr. Wotton and the Bishop of Ely as the third English Commissioner, and his last instructions from Elizabeth were to surrender anything but Calais. It is unnecessary to enter into the plots and counterplots by which every one concerned sought to gain advantage in these long drawn out negotiations, but there is one letter from Lord William Howard to Elizabeth which, though it has practically nothing to do with the Conference itself, is too curious to be omitted. Lord William Howard, it will be remembered, was the kinsman who stood by Elizabeth in Mary's time:

LORD WILLIAM HOWARD TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[*Foreign Calendar: Elizabeth.*]

CATEAU—CAMBRESIS, *March* 2, 1559.

. . . Now will I declare to your Highness how your marriage is here both wished and prophesied of. The Constable, talking one day with me in the church, did marvellously set forth your Highness's virtues and personage, and what good will the King his master bare unto you, wishing that if his master's wife were dead, your Majesty were his wife. But he said that cannot be, both for the life of his mistress and that your Highness, as he heard, should be married in Almain or in Italy.

"By the Lord," said I, "it is a great marvel to me how you have that intelligence," for I think there was never any such motion made to your Highness; and as far as I could ever perceive, your Majesty had such haste to marry that who should first be a suitor to your Highness, he might peradventure take but small pleasure in your answer. "But," quoth I, "if the King your master doth bear her Highness the good will you speak of he would not stand with her so much against both right and reason. But," quoth I, "let the Queen see the deeds; then may she the better believe the words." Then he was weary of that talk, and bade me farewell for that time.

Another day the Duchess of Lorraine with the

Countess of Aronborge, with the Prince of Orange rid a hunting and desired me to go with them. And by the way both the ladies, among other talk, wished your Highness to be the wife of the King of Spain. "Why," quoth I, "what should my mistress do with a husband that should be ever from her? Is that the way," said I, "to get that thing which we desire most, that is, children? I think not."

Then they laughing said, "The other Queen was too old, and not to be very well liked." "Well," quoth I, "you have said very well; but for my part she shall never be moved by any. But whomsoever she shall take we will have him and serve him to the death, and the better if he make much of her"; and so left off.

At length Elizabeth, after many angry vows that she would never part with Calais, agreed to an arrangement by which the French undertook—to quote a letter of March 14 from the Venetian Ambassador with Philip—"to restore the place within the term of eight years, and in the meanwhile to give security for 500,000 crowns; and also, in exchange for Guisnes (which was taken from the English and razed) to dismantle a certain fortress in Scotland near England." The conditions were less humiliating to England than they might have been, for England was not then in a position to fight France alone, and Philip, losing patience, had informed her plainly that he had no intention of renewing the war solely on account of a fortress for the loss of which England, he declared, had only herself to blame. While the question of his marriage with Elizabeth was still undecided Philip received a visit from the Bishop of Aquila, giving him a verbal description of the state of affairs in her kingdom—an account which, with the following letter from Feria, probably spurred him on to a new course of action, which, as will presently be seen, resulted in his marriage with the French King's eldest daughter:

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO THE KING.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

LONDON, *March* 19, 1559.

On the 6th instant I wrote by the Bishop of Aquila. I have since had a long conversation with the Treasurer of the Household[1] about the affairs of religion and the obligations the Queen and country are under to your Majesty, and although he is not so good a Catholic as he should be, he is the most reasonable of those near the Queen. She knew he was coming to speak with me on that day to St. James' Park, and told him to ask me to go with him to another park higher up near the execution place, so that the Earl of Pembroke and other gentlemen who were walking in St. James' Park should not see us. The Earl and the others who were walking would have been just as shy of speaking to me where the Queen or the Treasurer saw us. I say this to show how suspicious and distrustful they are. The conversation amounted to my saying that the Queen and they would be undone if they changed the religion. This I said without mentioning your Majesty. The Treasurer at the beginning of the interview had promised me that the Queen would not take the title of head of the Church. A week after I went to see the Queen to beg her to have a remedy found for the ill-treatment of your Majesty's subjects in this country. A great company of the boatmen who get their living by bringing over goods from Flanders came to me on that day to complain that many of their number had been robbed and murdered between Gravesend and here, their boats boarded and their goods taken. I found her resolved about what was yesterday passed in Parliament, and which Cecil and Vice-Chamberlain Knollys and their followers have managed to bring about for their own ends.

[1] Sir Thomas Parry, who had recently succeeded Sir Thomas Chenies in the office.—*Martin Hume.*

She said after a time that she could not marry your Majesty as she was a heretic. I was much surprised to hear her use such words and begged her to tell me the cause of so great a change since I last discussed the subject with her, but she did not enlighten me.

These heretics and the devil that prompts them are so careful to leave no stone unturned to compass their ends that no doubt they have persuaded her that your Majesty wishes to marry her for religious objects alone, and so she kept repeating to me that she was heretical and consequently could not marry your Majesty.

She was so disturbed and excited and so resolved to restore religion as her father left it, that at last I said that I did not consider she was heretical and could not believe that she would sanction the things which were being discussed in Parliament, because if she changed the religion she would be ruined, and that your Majesty would not separate from the union of the Church for all the kingdoms of the earth.

She said then much less would you do it for a woman. I did not want to be all rigour, so I said that men did more for a woman than for anything else.

She said she would not take the title of head of the Church, but that so much money was taken out of the country for the Pope every year that she must put an end to it, and that the Bishops were lazy poltroons.

I replied that the poltroons were the preachers that she listened to, and that it added little to her honour and was a great scandal that so many rogues should come from Germany, and get into the pulpit before her and great congregations to preach a thousand absurdities, without being learned or worthy to be listened to.

After we had been talking for half an hour Knollys came in and said supper was ready, a new thing, and as I think arranged by those who are working this wickedness, for there is nothing that annoys them more than that I should speak to her. I took my

leave saying that she was not the Queen Elizabeth that I knew and that I was very dissatisfied with what I had heard, and if she did what she said she would be ruined. This was Tuesday evening, and the next day there was no sermon at the palace as she was unwell; and truly I do not think her health is good. The Treasurer of the Household (although he is a favourite with the Queen) is not at all discreet, nor is he a good Catholic, as I have said, but still he behaves better than the others.

Cecil is very clever but a mischievous man and a heretic, and governs the Queen in spite of the Treasurer, for they are not at all good friends and I have done what I can to make them worse. This is the history up to then. Ever since, these heretics have been trying to carry through what they had proposed before, and by way of compromise on Wednesday the 15th instant, they brought forward the same as they proposed at the opening of Parliament, only more moderate. This was that she could take the title of supremacy if she chose, the Pope's authority being abolished in any case. This was to be sworn to by all who hold any office or benefice from the Queen, and in case of refusal they were to be deprived. In the same manner all ecclesiastics, the graduates of the universities and the scholars would lose all the rights, places and profits they held. All agreed to this except the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Montague, the Bishops and the Abbot of Westminster. I believe some of the lords were not present, but I shall find out how each one acted and let your Majesty know. The Earl of Sussex distinguished himself in being the greatest rogue of them all, as I always expected he would, for he never deceived me.

. . . All the Bishops here are determined to die for the faith, and your Majesty would be surprised to see how firm and steadfast they have been and are. If I had money and authority from your Majesty, I would willingly rather give it to them than pay the pensions of these renegades who have sold their God and the

honour of their country. I am sure that religion will not fall, because the Catholic party is two-thirds larger than the other, but I could wish that the work were done by your Majesty's hands, and that God should not be delivered over to the enemy.

I humbly beg your Majesty to forgive me for departing thus from my story, but I am so distressed at what is happening here that I cannot help saying what I do. Three or four Spaniards have arrived here from Geneva full of false doctrine. It would be well to have some precaution taken on the coast of Flanders to prevent such vile rabble coming over, at least Spaniards, as the heretics greatly congratulate themselves upon their coming. Those who have arrived say that some forty more Spaniards and one Antwerp man are still in Geneva and are expected to come here. I have decided in accord with Friar Juan de Villagarcia and Dr. Velasco to try and seize them, their wickedness being proved, and throw them into the river. I must do it so dexterously and secretly as to give no ground for complaint to the Queen or her people.

Native, as well as foreign, reformers were now pouring into England—all helping to increase Feria's hatred of the country which he saw drawing farther and farther away from Spain and Rome. The Queen's religious innovations, however, were far from satisfying the reforming party, as may be seen from the following letter of Dr. Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who had fled from the Marian persecutions in 1555, and stayed with Peter Martyr—or Pietro Vermigli, the great Protestant theologian—at Strasburg and Zurich:

JOHN JEWEL TO PETER MARTYR.

["*Zurich Letters.*"]

LONDON, *March* 20, 1559.

We have at length arrived in England, that is to say, on the fifty-seventh day after our leaving Zurich. . . . Everything turned out most disagreeable and

adverse to us, throughout the whole time. But I informed both you and Bullinger of these things more fully in a former letter, while I was delayed at Antwerp. You shall now hear the sequel; although, to say the truth, there is need of some art and flowers of rhetoric; not so much for adorning and embellishing any new intelligence, (which I know not whether I have at this time any to communicate,) as for the purpose of retouching my old narrative over again. For almost everything that I wrote to you about when on my journey, was at that time very different, and far more pleasant in the hearing, than I afterwards found it to be in reality on my return home. For the Roman pontiff was not yet cast out; no part of religion was yet restored; the country was still everywhere desecrated with the Mass; the pomp and insolence of the bishops was unabated. All these things, however, are at length beginning to shake, and almost to fall.

The bishops are a great hindrance to us; for being, as you know, among the nobility and leading men in the Upper House, and having none there on our side to expose their artifices and confute their falsehoods, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and weak men, and easily overreach our little party, either by their numbers, or their reputation for learning. The Queen, meanwhile, though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations: this is owing partly to her own friends, by whose advice everything is carried on, and partly to the influence of Count Feria, a Spaniard, and Philip's ambassador. She is however prudently, and firmly, and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish. And though the beginnings have hitherto seemed somewhat unfavourable, there is nevertheless reason to hope that all will be well at last.

. . . The Queen regards you most highly: she made so much of your letter that she read it over with the greatest eagerness a second and third time. I doubt not but that your book, when it arrives, will be

yet more acceptable. Two famous virtues, namely, ignorance and obstinacy, have wonderfully increased at Oxford since you left it: religion, and all hope of good learning and talent is altogether abandoned. Brooks,[1] Bishop of Gloucester, a beast of most impure life, and yet more impure conscience, a short time before his death exclaimed in a most woeful manner, that he was now condemned by his own judgment. Your renowned [antagonist] Smith,[2] the patron of chastity, has been taken in adultery, and on that account is ordered to retire from the theological chair, by a new practice, and without a precedent, as the like was never done in Mary's time. Bruerne[3] too has been compelled, for a similar offence, only far more flagitious, to relinquish his professorship of Hebrew. I write nothing about Marshal,[4] for fear of defiling my paper. You have before heard respecting Weston.[5] But why, say you, do you make mention of such persons? Simply, that you may learn by what judges it was thought fit that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer should be condemned. Farewell, my father, and most esteemed master in Christ. Yours, JOHN JEWEL.

Philip, seeing that Elizabeth had no intention of accepting his cruel personal sacrifice, consoled himself by means of his marriage with Henry's eldest daughter, Elizabeth de Valois.

[1] James Brooks had been the Pope's sub-delegate under Cardinal Puteo in Cranmer's trial; and assisted also at that of Hooper. He refused the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth and died in prison (1560).

[2] Richard Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, had been deprived of his professorship before in 1547, and was succeeded by Peter Martyr, against whom he printed his book for the "Celibacy of Priests and Monastic Vows." Smith fled to Douay in 1559, became Chancellor of the University there, and died in 1562.

[3] Richard Bruerne was chosen Provost of Eton without the Queen's consent, and by her forced to resign in 1561.

[4] Richard Marshal, Dean of Christ Church, was a violent Papist under Mary, and watched narrowly to catch Jewel when he fled from Oxford. According to Strype, he dug up the body of Peter Martyr's wife out of her grave in Christ Church, where she had been some years buried, and cast it on his dunghill.

[5] Hugh Weston, Dean of Windsor, was in August, 1557, deprived of his deanery by Cardinal Pole for his immorality. He died in 1558.

Philip's original idea had been to take her for his daughter-in-law, his only son, Carlos, being then fourteen years old, and the Princess a few months younger, but when Feria and the Bishop of Aquila disillusioned him regarding Elizabeth of England, he decided to marry her himself. Hence she came to be known to the Spaniards as Elizabeth of the Peace. The next letter is characteristic of the indecision which marked Philip's conduct throughout his life. Anxious to prevent a religious war in England—fearing its result on the gathering strength of the reformers in his own dominion, as well as the possible interference of France—he yet, in his ponderous way, urges Feria to encourage the Catholics with hopes of his friendship, and sends at the same time an additional 40,000 ducats to be spent by his Ambassador "in gaining friends," or in any other way he deems advisable:

KING PHILIP TO THE COUNT DE FERIA.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

GRUNIENDAL, *March* 23, 1559.

Your letter by the Bishop of Aquila received. He has related at great length what you confided to him, and I was glad to hear so detailed an account of the state of affairs in England, as I was very anxious to know the exact position, and I am quite satisfied with the way in which he has laid it before me. I also highly approve of the manner in which you have proceeded in all things, and the prudence, moderation and zeal you have shown in your dealings with the Queen and the rest, for which I thank you, and charge you to continue the same care, diligence and good will in the guidance of affairs touching my interests.

The affairs entrusted to the Bishop being of such importance I sent him at once to Cambresis to obtain the opinion of my Council of State who are there arranging for peace. The Bishop has returned with their answer, and after consulting with those of my Council who reside here I have resolved as follows.

First. Having regard to what you write and the Bishop tells me, there seems reason to fear that religious affairs having reached their present pitch, revolutions or disturbances might result therefrom either from the Catholics resenting the carrying out of the new decisions or from the discontent that is shown by some of the Queen's proceedings and mode of government, or again by the incitement of the French, and I therefore think, to avoid this and the inconveniences which might result, and which are so great and evident that I need not recapitulate them, that all your efforts should be directed to smooth matters down as much as possible, and use every means that the Queen should not proceed so rigorously as she seemed to intend to enforce the oath that Parliament had determined upon. In case this cannot be managed you will try to keep in the good graces of the Queen and lead her to rely upon my friendship implicitly, so that no opportunity shall be presented for the French to be appealed to in case of necessity, although it seems most unlikely that she should trust people who have the claims they have on her kingdom and are only waiting for a chance to try and oust her from it. You will use for this object all the fair words, arguments and compliments you may think fitting and efficacious, but at the same time you must be very careful not to let the Catholics despair of our friendship, but rather seek opportunities of favouring them with the Queen, giving them to understand that you will always do so.

The main end and aim that you must have in view in all things is to obstruct and impede, by every way, form and means, any rupture between the Catholics and heretics in England, this being the best course for the pacification of the country, and for the welfare of our interests, as it will deprive the French of any excuse for putting their foot in the country, which is the thing principally to be avoided. With this object you must so guide and direct things as far as possible to attain and preserve harmony; making yourself a

mediator and employing those means which you see fitting with your great knowledge of English affairs.

If in spite of all your efforts you cannot obviate a rupture between Catholics and heretics you must endeavour by all means to let me know at once the state of affairs and I will instruct you how you are then to proceed. If however a disturbance happen so suddenly that you have no time to consult me, you will mediate and try to pacify without declaring yourself for either party until you have advised me and received my reply, but if you see the Catholic side strong and firmly established and the heretics weak, you will not fail secretly to favour the former and supply them underhandedly with money, whilst on the other hand you will give fair words to the heretics to put them off their guard and prevent them from calling in the French.

For this and the payment of the pensions you must have a supply of money, and I have ordered, in addition to the 20,000 ducats that were sent to you the other day, another 40,000 to be sent to you—20,000 at once by way of Antwerp, which will arrive as soon as the Bishop, and the other 20,000 in a few days, as all could not be sent together. It will be well not to let it be known there that you have any more money than is necessary to pay what we owe, as it may arouse suspicion and distrust, and this would be inconvenient. You can employ it in the way you think advisable, either in paying the pensioners something or in gaining friends or succouring and maintaining Catholics and others, whom you think might be useful to prevent a rupture, as already mentioned, or indeed in any way you think best for our object in the exercise of your prudence. You must keep principally in view by all ways and means to avoid a rupture, the importance of which is so great that I cannot be satisfied without repeating it so many times. To help what may be desirable in England I have thought wise to publish that I have for the present abandoned my voyage to Spain, with the excuse that I await here

the arrival of the Prince my son for his marriage. It will be well for you to spread this in England so as to give more encouragement to our friends. I have also ordered, in case of necessity, that money should be got to fit out a fleet in a short time, so that it may be ready to carry men over to England if required. I have not had it done at once so as not to arouse the jealousy of the English and in order that people may not think it is for my voyage to Spain.

Men will also be got ready here, so that if it should be necessary they can be sent to the place where they may be wanted.

Whilst this was being written your letter of the 19th instant arrived, and I was much pained to learn what you say is happening in the matter of religion and the resolution adopted in Parliament on the subject. I approve of the steps you took with the Queen, and I am very anxious to know whether they have been of any avail, as she told you not to advise me until she let you know. I do not think that I need alter anything that has been written above except to enjoin you again very emphatically to carry out my wishes with all possible diligence and let me know what happens by every opportunity. As the Queen might perhaps think I was offended at her rejection of the marriage, I thought well to write you a separate letter that you might show to her. Do so, and intimate as from me that I am quite satisfied with what pleases her, with such complimentary words and offers of service as you may see advisable and in substantial accord with the contents of the letter. The Bishop carries this despatch back with him and has been present at all the discussions on the matter. You will therefore hear from him full particulars as he is thoroughly well informed about it. I have ordered the Bishop to speak about a certain apology which was written by Cardinal Pole touching the matters which the Pope had had laid before him and treating also of other things that perhaps had better not be published. I have been told that this

apology has come into possession of the Queen amongst the other papers left by the Cardinal which were seized by her orders, and it would be well for many reasons to get hold of it. I charge you therefore dexterously to get it away from the Queen, or whoever may have it, employing your usual tact in obtaining it. When obtained please send it to me.

In the handwriting of the King :—

It will be well to delay as much as possible the payment of the pensions except those most necessary for the success of our present affairs, so that this money now sent may go as far as possible, for although the sum may not be large, in my present circumstances I shall feel the want of it, but am anxious to do nothing that shall stand in the way of the arrangement of my business.

Before he received this letter Feria had another interview with Elizabeth—with the usual result; and he was obliged in the end to confess that "it will not be by such talks as these that she or they will be softened." The arrogant Count was all for the weightier argument of force:

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO KING PHILIP.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

LONDON, *March* 24, 1559.

On the 19th instant I wrote to your Majesty by a courier who went over with Dr. Velasco. On the same day, Palm Sunday, there were great rejoicings at the palace on the arrival of a son of the Chamberlain with news of the peace, and also because Parliament had passed on the previous day the Act mentioned in my former letter against the authority of the Pope.

On the next day, Monday, I went to speak with the Queen, and as I was waiting in the presence chamber the Earl of Sussex and the Admiral separately caught sight of me and fled from me, as if I were the person

they had injured. When I went to speak to the Queen I said that I had heard she had received letters from her Commissioners acquainting her with the help and support they had received from your Majesty's Commissioners. She answered that she had, and seemed grateful, but was indignant with her own representatives for agreeing to such terms, as she appeared to think that the 500,000 crowns to be paid by the French if they do not restore Calais within eight years was too little. She went on in this way, but her anger was all pretended, and she is really very much pleased and her people as well. They all see, good and bad alike, the great service your Majesty has rendered them. They tell me that the common people laugh at the idea of the French giving up Calais to them again, and are dissatisfied with the agreement made, although they are very thankful to your Majesty. I am sure that the news of peace made the Parliament come to the decision I have mentioned. They were much afraid that your Majesty would abandon them, for truly they are very weak, and anyone speaking to them strongly in the name of the Catholics would carry them with him.

I said to the Queen that I was surprised that she had allowed Parliament to go so far in the matter of religion; but since it had come to so bad a decision I hoped that she would act more wisely in so far as the confirmation was concerned, and that as she had asked me not to write to your Majesty until her confirmation was given I had refrained from doing so, and I was now afraid that if your Majesty learnt what was going on from any other source you would be angry with me for delaying the information so long, so that as I had trusted to her and the whole business was entirely in her hands, I begged of her to consider deeply before acting.

She replied that she did not think of calling herself head of the Church, or of administering sacraments, and then went on to say some false and foolish things about the present occurrences, and asked me scornfully

whether your Majesty would be angry at all this and at the Mass being said in English.

I said that I thought your Majesty would be much pained thereat, but I did not know how you would take it, although I feared she would be ruined if it went on, as I had told her before on my own account as a person who wished her well, and who would be sorry to see her destruction. She asked me who could bring it about, your Majesty or the King of France.

I answered that I said nothing in your Majesty's name, and that you had done nothing more in the matter than to commend the question of religion to her when she first succeeded to the crown. I said she had seen hitherto whether your Majesty was a friend or an enemy, and that I, in compliance with your Majesty's orders that I should serve her, could not help telling her the truth when I saw her in such a dangerous way, as I knew what forces she had, as well as those of your Majesty and the King of France, and was convinced that her strength lay in the friendship of your Majesty.

She said that she had no idea of making war in France, but meant to hold her own in her kingdom, as her father had done. I replied that they were deceiving her and she could not hold her own, and that it was a pity and a shame to hear the things they made her believe; and, as to restoring religion as her father left it, she knew that King Henry burnt Lutherans, whilst all those who were now preaching to her were either Lutherans or Zuinglians. She denied this and was much surprised. I told her I was more astonished at the manner in which these religious questions were settled than I was at the decisions arrived at, bad as they were; and to convince her that these poltroons who preached to her were Lutherans and Zuinglians I would give her notes of some of the abominable and bestial things they had preached before her. She asked me to do so, and wanted to know who had written the notes for

me. I told her I had and have wise and godly people here who are capable of stating the truth, and that as she wished it I would send her a paper in which these things were set forth, and she could have it considered and answered in writing.

I think when I left her on that occasion she was rather kinder than she had been the last time, but it will not be by such talks as these that she or they will be softened. I thought well to send her the paper, as I verily believe they have never told her the truth in these matters in all her life, except when the late Queen sent some of the Bishops to speak with her, and in that way she would have hated it, even if they had agreed with her.

Philip was now full of his new matrimonial plan, which seemed to him to ensure the universal peace for which he longed. His bride-elect was little more than a child—Philip himself was then thirty-three—but she was strikingly beautiful, and possessed a cultivated mind which enabled her gradually to exercise considerable influence over her husband, who appears to have loved her deeply during her short married life. He was married by proxy in June, 1559, in Paris—not in Spain, as suggested in the following letter—and it was during the brilliant tournament held in connexion with the wedding festivities that Henry II. received his mortal wound, being succeeded eleven days later by his eldest son, Francis II., the boy husband of Mary, Queen of Scots:

PAULO TIEPOLO, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR WITH KING PHILIP, TO THE DOGE AND SENATE.

[*Venetian State Papers.*]

BRUSSELS, *April* 9, 1559.

It has seemed here, and may appear in the same light elsewhere, a bold step that this King should take for wife His most Christian Majesty's eldest daughter, who had been first offered to his son, most especially as King Philip's negotiation is still pending with the Queen of England, where the Count de Feria has not

failed to perform every sort of office, spending money profusely and making presents. But the King Catholic, perceiving on the one hand how ill he could succeed with Queen Elizabeth, especially as she was alienating herself from the Catholic Church, anticipating also the many difficulties, disturbances, and dangers he would have incurred by continuing his project to dispose of that kingdom at his pleasure, and hoping on the other hand through this [French] marriage to establish more effectually peace and concord with the most Christian King, easily allowed himself to be brought over to this opinion, which will doubtless have extremely pleased the French, who wished above all things to make sure of King Philip's not marrying the Queen of England, to which kingdom they believe themselves to have a just claim.

His most Christian Majesty leaves it at King Philip's option to solemnise the marriage either here or in Spain, and about this no determination has been come to hitherto, though many persons are of opinion it will be solemnised in Spain, as the King Catholic would never be counselled to pass through France, and it would be inconvenient to take women by sea. They talk less of what was said heretofore, but nevertheless His Majesty cannot depart hence so speedily, as he must at least remain for four or five months to see further about the restitution of the fortresses and places on the one side and the other, as also to provide for much that is required in these provinces. It is said by some that to the Prince of Spain [Don Carlos] they will give the French King's third daughter, who was promised to the son of the King of Navarre, but some other chief personages say that one of the chief reasons which moved King Philip to take for himself the daughter of the most Christian King was, that his realms might be inherited by lineal descendants both on the father's and mother's side of the House of Arragon and Castille; so his son [Don Carlos] will be married to a daughter of the Emperor.

The Duke of Savoy is in high spirits, as he in reason ought to be, on resuming possession of his territories after 23 years' expulsion thence, but he is evidently tied and bound, and more in the hands of the French than in those of King Philip; and when I congratulated his attendants on this result, they could not dissemble their regret, saying that the gladness remained incomplete because so many fortresses were withheld; and all able politicians believe that he will be compelled to follow the will of the French rather than that of this King, to whom alone he has cause to acknowledge the benefit of having been reinstated.

It is not well known how the affairs of Tuscany are to be settled. This Court is, however, extremely dissatisfied with the Duke of Florence, and most especially with its chief personages; and the Duke of Parma, when speaking to me on this subject, said that His Majesty's councillors are so dissatisfied at the disposal of Sienna, that whenever it is talked about they all seek to exculpate themselves, saying that they were either absent at the time or never gave their assent. The Duke of Parma also told me that the Duke of Florence had complained of him, but that he was compelled in self-defence simply to narrate the causes why the war of Ferrara had not succeeded, he (the Duke of Parma) having given hopes to His Majesty, which were frustrated because the Duke of Florence failed to do what he was bound to do. The Duke of Parma added that although implicit belief cannot be given to all that is said by a great Prince, yet King Philip's proceedings vouch the fact that he never took any pains to marry Queen Elizabeth, and thus gain so great a kingdom, for it is undeniable that he always treated that affair very coldly, and neglected it in many ways.

Yesterday I visited the Duke of Alba and Don Ruy Gomez, who endeavoured to convince me of His Majesty's good will, and principally the Duke of Alba, who commended the care had by the King in

this treaty for his allies, which he said was so great as to make the King utterly disregard his own interests provided his allies were satisfied, as they are ; adding that on account of the allies he the Duke had expected the negotiations for the peace to have been broken off at least four times, as no dispute ever arose about His Majesty's affairs. His Excellency then went on to affirm at great length that King Philip was content with his own, and did not desire the possessions of others, and that in like manner as, in case of need, he well knew how to wage war, so did he desire peace above all things, and would endeavour to preserve it in Christendom.

The Council [General] will have to be arranged, King Philip greatly desiring that it may be held for the benefit and security of his states; the King of France being likewise bound to wish for it equally as here it is considered certain that His most Christian Majesty has been compelled to make this peace more through the troubles caused by the affairs of religion than from any other necessity he had. A gentleman of this Court told me he had it from the lips of the Cardinal of Lorraine that more than two-thirds of France have become Lutherans; and the Duke of Alba, talking with me on this subject, said King Philip knew the condition of France with regard to the religion better than anyone, because, had he chosen to give ear to those who on this account demanded his protection, he might very easily have put France to extreme confusion and ruin ; so it is believed that these two Kings will do their utmost to have the Council held.

A reverend Bishop who was at the Council of Trent has told me that the last Act registered in that Council was, that whenever the Christian Princes were at peace the Council was understood to be open; so he said that these Kings without more ado might send their Bishops to the Council, in order to avoid loss of time, and that at any rate he would inform His Majesty of the fact. . . .

And now we come to the last letter of the present volume. It is impossible to read without a smile the personal narrative of how the Count de Feria broke to Elizabeth the news of Philip's approaching marriage:

THE COUNT DE FERIA TO KING PHILIP.

[*Spanish State Papers: Elizabeth.*]

LONDON, *April* 11, 1559.

On the 7th inst. Mason arrived with news of the peace, at the same time as your Majesty's courier to me despatched on the 5th, and another courier bringing me the same news from your Majesty's Commissioners. On the same day I went to the palace with the son of the Portuguese ambassador who came to visit the Queen. The members of the Council and Mason came out to us and I thought they looked downcast. We went in to see the Queen, who received us graciously, and, seeing that your Majesty had left to me in your letters the mode in which she should be told of the arrangement with the French I thought most convenient, and in keeping with my previous attitude to express my sorrow about the marriage, as I was so devoted a servant of hers, and understood what she had lost, and thus to throw a greater gloom over her and them in this respect than has been thrown over them by seeing your Majesty in close alliance and relationship with the King of France. The Queen presently began to read the letters from Portugal, which, being in Portuguese, she called me to help her to read. I answered her that I was no longer any good for a secretary, which she understood and smiled slightly. After this, when she had finished with the Portuguese, she called me to her and asked whether I had letters from your Majesty. I told her yes, and that on the next day I would give her any information she wanted about them, but that I could not do so then, as I was so angry with her and so annoyed. She said that if I wanted to go out with

the Portuguese I could do so and she would send outside for me.

This she did, and on my return began to say she had heard your Majesty was married, smiling, saying your name was a fortunate one, and now and then giving little sighs which bordered upon laughter. I told her that although I saw that this peace was a great boon to Christendom I could not rejoice to see your Majesty married to anyone else but her, nor at her refusing to believe all my importunities and assurances of how desirable it would be for her to marry your Majesty.

To this she retorted that it was your Majesty's fault it had fallen through and not hers, as she had given me no reply, and that I had told her also that I had not written about it to your Majesty.

I told her she knew very well what the facts were, and that I had not taken a reply because I understood what kind of answer she would give me, and that in affairs of this importance between two such great princes as your Majesty and her it was my duty, if I could not bring about an agreement, to give matters such a turn as to cause no anger or resentment on either side, and this I had tried to do, although in so doing I had leant more on her side than on your Majesty's, as she very well knew.

She confessed this was so, and afterwards went on to say that your Majesty could not have been so much in love with her as I had said, as you had not had patience to wait four months for her; and many things of the same sort, as if she was not at all pleased at the decision adopted by your Majesty. She told me that two or three of her Council must have been very glad at the news, but she did not say who they were.

What I have heard during the short time since the news of the peace came, is that she and all the rest of them have been much grieved to see your Majesty and the King of France so united, and they greatly fear that this friendship may portend evil to them. During the time the Portuguese was talking to the Queen

and before we entered her room, I spoke with nearly all the councillors separately, and Cecil, who is a pestilent knave, as your Majesty knows, told me they had heard your Majesty was going very shortly to Spain ; and amongst other things he said that if your Majesty wished to keep up the war with France, they for their part would be glad of it. I told him he could tell that to people who did not understand the state of affairs in England so well as I did. What they wanted was something very different from that, and they were blind entirely to their real interests, and would now begin to understand that I had advised what was best for the service of the Queen and the welfare of the country. In short I left them that day as bitter as gall.

The Count de Feria only revealed his own bitterness of heart by these angry outbursts. He knew that he had played his last card, and lost. Not that he blamed himself for any part of the failure. It was the halting policy of Philip which annoyed him most, and in subsequent letters to his friends he made no attempt to disguise his contempt for the King who had spoiled so many chances of "dealing with these people sword in hand"—the only way, according to Feria, by which they could ever hope to secure the return of Spanish supremacy. The King's Ambassador, baffled and disgusted all round, begged to be relieved of his post, and was succeeded by the smoother-tongued Bishop of Aquila, the "clever and crafty old fox," as Bishop Jewel called him a year or two later. The change of Ambassadors was coincident with the definite parting of the ways between Spain and England: England to coquet with its rivals through the ready medium of the arch-flirt Elizabeth, the while it sharpened its arms and settled its religious difficulties; Spain to look to its own religious troubles and the gathering storm in the Netherlands, Philip in the meanwhile hoping against hope to restore Spanish influence in England by providing Elizabeth with a husband who should be either a princeling dependent upon Spain for support, or an Englishman who might be bought

by Spanish gold. But the ripe opportunities which he has allowed to pass unheeded in the first days of Elizabeth's reign never returned. The plain truth had been uttered by the King's Ambassador in London when, in one of his last letters to his procrastinating master in the spring of 1559, he told him frankly, "we have lost a kingdom body and soul."

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